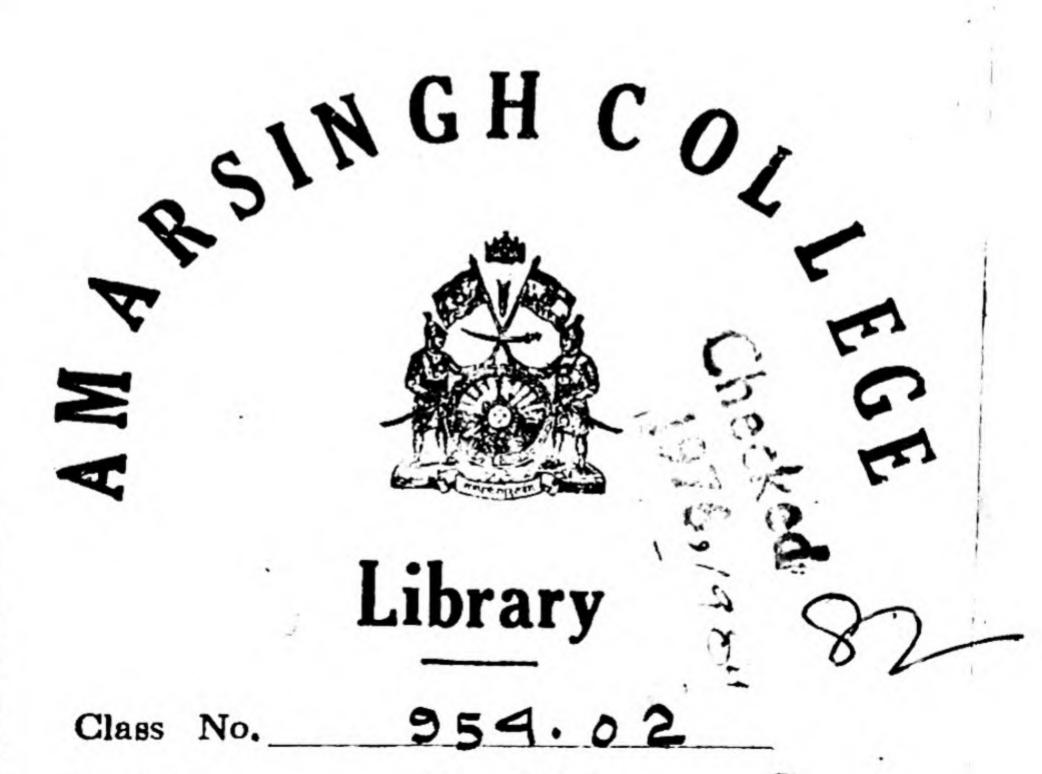


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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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The Tabakat-i Nasiri which is reprinted in this volume, first appeared as the eighth article in the second volume of the original edition in 1869. The editor and his munshi translated only a few extracts from the original Persian manuscript which is divided into twenty-three books. As it is a general history from the earliest times to 1259 A.D. embracing the consecutive annuals of the Ghaznivides, the Ghorians, and the Slave Kings, this volume is named accordingly. In a few pages supplementary to this volume, the Editor has examined Major Raverty's "very sharp and hostile criticism" of the translation of the Tabakat-i Nasiri.

The Editor writes as follows in his preface to the eighth volume of the original edition:

"Since the publication of the second volume, in which some extracts from the Tabakat-i Nasiri appeared, Major Raverty has undertaken a complete translation of that work, and has published a considerable portion. Many years ago the late Lord Strangford characterised Major Raverty as "a ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his precursors," and time has by no means changed his disposition. His work abounds with sarcastic censures cast on other writers, but contains very little in acknowledgment of the assistance he has received from the labours of his predecessors. It is no difficult matter to criticise and point out errors in the best of translations, especially when the original texts vary and are unsettled. If such criticisms are couched in fair and courteous terms, they are acceptable to both authors and readers, but no benefit can accrue to any one from captious and sneering animadversions. Had

¹Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, p. 54.

Major Raverty's criticisms on this work affected only me personally, they should have passed without observation; but for the credit of this publication, I have gone through his observations seriatim, . . . and am greatly rejoiced that such an eager critic has found so little real cause for complaint. I have tried to treat his criticisms in a calm and judicial spirit, and I have given him full credit for such real improvements as his practical knowledge and additional MSS. have enabled him to make. For these corrections, but not for his manner of making them, I tender my thanks."

The Tabakat-i Naisiri was translated partly by the Editor and partly by a munshi, revised and sundry long gaps being filled up by the Editor. Translations of some portions of this book had been made by an English officer; "but the editor, with every desire to make use of them and save himself labour, was obliged to reject them. Prefixed to the translations were the following notes, the later one written after Sir H. M. Elliot's death. These of themselves will show that no harsh

judgment has been exercised: -

"This translation is imperfect. By allowing myself great latitude in guessing at the author's meaning, supplying words, sometimes whole passages, I have succeeded in making it appear a somewhat connected narrative. Had I marked in the margin all the passages which were doubtful, I find I should have to make the whole translation almost; I have therefore only marked those which are more especially obscure, and when the meaning appeared to be of more than usual importance.

"N.B.—This translation was done and the remarks in the margin made under the impression that it would

be looked over by Sir H. M. Elliot."

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GHAZNIVIDE, GHOR AND SLAVE DYNASTIES

OR
TABAKA'T-I NASIRI
OF
MINHAJU-S SIRAJ

TABAKAT-I NASIRI of MINHAJU-S SIRAJ

(This is a general history from the earliest times up to 658 Hijra (A.D. 1259). The author was Abu 'Umar Minhaju-d din, 'Usman ibn Siraju-d din al Juzjani. In the course of his work he mentions many interesting facts concerning himself and his family. He tells us that his ancestor in the third degree, Imam 'Abdu-l Khalik, came from Juzjan1 to Ghazni to seek a wife, in compliance with a command which he several times received in dreams. Here he gained the good graces of the reigning monarch. Ibrahim, and received in marriage one of his forty daughters, all of whom were "married to illustrious nobles or learned men of repute." They had a son named Ibrahim, who was father of Maulana Minhaju-d din 'Usman, who was father of Maulana Siraju-d din, who was father of our author, Minhaju-s Siraj. Siraju-d din was a man of some distinction. He was appointed Kazi of the army of Hindustan by Muhammad Ghori in A.H. 582 (1186 A.D.), and his son refers to him by his titles of "'Ajubatu-z Zaman afsahu-l 'Ajam-the wonder of the time and the most eloquent man of Persia."

The author of this work, Minhaju-s Siraj, came from Ghor to Sind, Uch and Multan in 624 A.H. (A.D. 1227), and his character for learning must then have been already established, as he tells us that the Firozi College at Uch was placed under his charge. In the year following, Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh led his armies from Dehli to suppress Nasiru-d din Kubacha, who had succeeded in gaining sovereign authority in those

¹ The country between Merv and Balkh.

quarters, and after the defeat and death of Kubacha, Minhaju-s Siraj was admitted to an interview with Altamsh, and returned in his train to Dehli, where he arrived in Ramazan, 625 (August, 1228). In 629 A.H. he followed Altamsh to the siege of Gwalior, where he was appointed one of the court preachers, and soon afterwards was made "law-officer, and director of the preaching, and of all religious, moral, and judicial affairs." He abandoned this position in 635, when the forces of Sultan Raziya marched there. After the death of this able but unfortunate queen, we find him at Dehli, writing congratulatory verses upon the accession of her successor, Bahram Shah, and when a panic fell upon the city at the threatened incursion of the Moghals, he was called upon to preach and conciliate the minds of the people. Soon after this in A.H. 639 (1241 A.D.) Bahram Shah made him Kazi of the capital and of all his territories. But he did not hold this office long. Bahram Shah was deposed, and slain at the end of 639 H., and Minhaju-s Siraj immediately afterwards tendered his resignation.

In Hijra 640, he started for Lakhnauti, and stayed there until the end of 642. This residence in the capital of Bengal afforded him opportunities for acquiring accurate information respecting that outlying Musulman territory, and makes all that he says upon that subject

of especial value.

At the end of 642, he returned to Dehli and arrived there early in the following year. He was immediately appointed Principal of the Nasiriya College, and superintendent of its endowments. He was also made Kazi of Gwalior, and preacher in the metropolitan mosque. At the beginning of 644 H. (1246 A.D.) Nasiru-d din Mahmud ascended the throne, and our author received a prize for his congratulatory ode on the occasion, specimens of which he inserts in his history. The full tide of prosperity had now set in upon him; he received many

honours from the Sultan Nasiru-d din, and from the distinguished noble whom he calls Ulugh Khan-i Mu'azzam, who succeeded Nasiru-d din on the throne, and is better known as Ghiyasu-d din Balban. The author records the grant of a village which he received in in'am, and mentions with great complacency the many favours of which he was the recipient. Finally he was honoured with the title of Sadr-i Jahan, and was again made Kazi of the state and magistrate of the capital.

In honour of his patron, Nasiru-d din, he named his work Tabakat-i Nasiri, and he breaks off his history rather abruptly in the fifteenth year of that monarch's reign, intending, as he said, to resume his pen if life and opportunity were afforded him. The date of his death is not known, but he probably survived Nasiru-d din, as the period of that monarch's reign is stated in this work as extending to twenty-two years, which, however, is an error, as it lasted only twenty years. The eulogistic way in which he always speaks of the successor of Nasiru-d din would induce the belief that the work appeared in the reign of that Sultan, and the fact is proved by his more than once offering up an ejaculatory prayer for the continuance of his reign.

The following careful analysis of the contents of the history has been borrowed from Morley's cata-

logue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society: -

"The Tabakat-i Nasiri is divided into twenty-three books, and contains as follows:—

"Author's Preface, in which he dedicates his work to Abu-l Mazaffar Nasiru-d din Mahmud Ibnu-s Sultan

Altamsh, king of Dehli.

"Book I.—Account of the Prophets and patriarchs; of Jesus Christ; of Ishmael and the ancestors of Muhammad; and a history of Muhammad himself to the day of his death.

"Book II.—History of the first four Khalifas; of the descendants of 'Ali, and of the ten Mubashshir.

"Book III.—The Khalifas of the Bani Ummayya.

"Book IV.—The Khalifas of the Bani 'Abbas, to the extinction of the Khalifat in A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258).

"Book V.—The history of the early kings of Persia, comprising the Peshdadians, the Kaianians, the Ashkanians, the Sasanians, and the Akasira from Naushirwan to Yazdajird.

"Book VI.—History of the kings of Yaman, from Harisu-r Raish to Badan, who was converted to the

Islam.

"Book VII.—History of the Tahirides from the Tahir Zuu-l Yumnain to that of Muhammad bin Tahir, the last king of the dynasty, who was conquered by Ya'kub Lais, in A.H. 259 (A.D. 872).

"Book VIII.—History of the Saffarides from Ya'kub Lais to the death of 'Amru Lais in A.H. 289 (A.D. 901).

"Book IX.—History of the Samanides from their origin to A.H. 389 (A.D. 998) when 'Abdu-l Malik bin Nuh was sent as a captive to Uzjand.

"Book X.—History of the Buwaihides from their

origin to the time of Abu-l Fawaris Sharafu-d Daula.

"Book XI.—History of the Ghaznivides from Subuktigin to the death of Khusru Malik in A.H. 598 (A.D.

1201).

"Book XII.—History of the Saljuks of Persia from their origin to the death of Sultan Sanjar in A.H. 552 (A.D. 1157); of the Saljuks of Rum and 'Irak, from their origin to the time of Ruknu-d din Kilij Arslan; and an account of Tughril bin Tughril, to his death, and the conquest

of 'Irak by Takash, King of Khwarizm.

"Book XIII.—History of the Sanjariya kings, viz. 1. The Atabaks of 'Irak and Azarbaijan from the time of the Atabak Alptigin to that of the Atabak Abu Bakr bin Muhammad. 2. The Atabaks of Fars, from Sankar to the time of the Atabak Abu Bakr bin Sa'd bin Zangi A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259) when the author wrote. 3. The Kings of Naishapur from Maliku-l Muaiyidu-s Sanjari to

the defeat and capture of Sanjar Shah bin Tughan Shah, by Takash, king of Khwarizm.

"Book XIV.—History of the kings of Nimruz and Sijistan from Tahir bin Muhammad to Taju-d din Nialtigin Khwarizmi who was slain by the Mongols in A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227).

"Book XV.—History of the Kurdiya kings, viz: The Atabaks of Syria, Nuru-d din Zangi and Maliku-s Salih; and the Ayyubites of Egypt, from the time of Ayyub to the death of Maliku-s Salih bin Maliku-l Kamil.

"Book XVI.—History of the Khwarizmians, from their origin to the death of Jalalu-d din Mankburni, in

A.H. 629 (A.D. 1231).

"Book XVII.—History of the Shansabaniya Sultans of Ghor, from the origin of the family to the time of 'Alau-d din Muhammad bin Abu 'Ali, the twenty-second and the last king, who surrendered the city of Firoz-Koh to Muhammad Khwarizm Shah in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215).

"Book XVIII.—The Shansabaniya Kings of Bamian and Tukharistan, from Fakhru-d din Mas'ud the first king, to the time of the fifth monarch, 'Alau-d din Masud, who was slain by his nephew Jalalu-d din 'Ali.

"Book XIX.—History of the Shansabaniya Sultans of Ghaznin, from the time of Saifu-d din Suri, who conquered Bahram Shah Ghaznawi, to that of Kutbu-d din Aibak, who expelled Taju-d din Yalduz. in A.H. 603 (A.D. 1206).

"Book XX.—The Muizziya Sultans of Hindustan. comprising the history of Kutbu-d din Aibak, and of his son Aram Shah, whose capital was Dehli; of Nasiru-d din Kubacha al Mu'izzi and Bahau-d din Tughril al Mu'izzi; and of the first four Khilji princes who reigned at Lakhnauti or Gaur, ending with Husamu-d din Ghiyasu-d din, who was defeated and slain by Nasiru-d din Mahmud bin Shamsu-d din Altamsh, governor of Behar, in A.H. 634 (A.D. 1226).

"Book XXI.—History of the Shamsiya Sultans of

Hindustan, whose capital was Dehli, from the time of Shamsu-d din Altamsh, who expelled Aram Shah from the throne in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259), when Nasiru-d din Mahmud, the seventh king of the dynasty, reigned in Dehli, and the author completed the present history.

"Book XXII.—Account of the most eminent nobles. viceroys, governors, etc., who flourished under the Shamsiya dynasty, from A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227) to the author's own time, ending with a life of Bahau-d din Alu Khan Balban who was the wazir of Nasiru-d din Mahmud, and who afterwards, on the death of that monarch, ascended the throne of Dehli without opposition.

"Book XXIII.—On the incursions of the infidels; comprising an account of the war between Sultan Sanjar Saljuki and the tribes of Kara Khita; of the conquest of Turkistan by Muhammad Khwarizm Shah, and the defeat and death of Gur Khan, the Kara Khitaian, in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210); and of Changiz Khan and his descendants, viz: Juji Khan, Uktai Khan, Chaghatai Khan, Kuyuk Khan, Batu Khan, Mangu Khan, Hulaku Khan, and Barakah Khan, to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259)"

The Tabakat-i Nasiri is held in very high esteem both in India and Europe. Firishta and others refer to it as an excellent work of high authority; Anquetil du Perron calls it a "precious work" and Elphinstone mentions it as a work of the highest celebrity. Stewart in his History of Bengal, follows it very closely, and considers it "a very valuable book." These encomiums are not altogether undeserved; it is written in a plain, unaffected style, and the language is considered very correct. The author but rarely indulges in high-flown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements, and the accuracy of his knowledge. He appears to have been industrious in collecting information from trustworthy persons, and he often mentions his authority

for the facts he records. Still he is very meagre in his details, and Morley justly observes, "many portions of the history are too concise to be of much use." He is also particularly disappointing occasionally in the brevity with which he records important matters about which he might have obtained full information, such, for instance, as the irruption of the "infidels of Changiz Khan" into Bengal, as far as the walls of Lakhnauti, in 642 H. (1245 A.D.).

Another defect of the work arises from its plan, which necessitates repetition, and requires events to be related in more than one place. Thus, the record of the reign of Nasiru-d din and the memoir of Ulugh Khan (Ghiyasu-d din) go over the same ground and record many of the same facts but with considerable variety of detail.)

It is strange (says Sir Henry Elliot) that the Tabakat-i Nasiri should be so scarce in India. I know of only one copy besides my own, although there is no work for which I have searched so much.2 It is in one of the royal libraries of Lucknow, and though several of my correspondents had declared that it was not to be found there, I discovered it at last by making a man ascend a ladder, and read out the title of every work in the library. After the lapse of almost three hours the name was read out. The work is by no means uncommon in Europe. Scarcely any one is so much quoted by Orientalists. It is possible that the reason of its being so scarce in India is that it vituperates the Mughals, and shows the consternation which they occasioned at the time of their first conquests, inasmuch as the author represents them as manifest signs of the approach of the day of judgment.3

² Stewart describes a copy belonging to Tippu's Library said to have been copied by the author himself.

³ It was the terror arising from the same cause which

(The portions of the Tabakat-i Nasiri which relate to India have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, under the superintendence of Major Lees, in a volume of 450 pages. This contains the 11th and the 17th to the 22nd Tabakats or books. Lees preface to this volume states the reasons for thus limiting the publication, and contains some critical observations upon the value of this work, and of others which furnish the materials for the history of the early Muhammadan rulers of India.⁴

Size of Sir H. Elliot's MS.—Small folio, 12 by 8

inches. Seventeen lines in each page.

induced European writers to give these hordes the name of Tartars. The correct word is Tatars, which signifies a tributary people, and though improperly applied to the Mongols themselves, yet represented the great majority of the races which swelled their ranks. Superstitious monks supposed them to have come from the infernal regions, and hence called them Tartars. St. Louis writes to his queen Blanche, "This divine consolation will always exalt our souls, that in the present danger of the Tartars, either we shall push them back into the Tartarus whence they are come, or they will bring us all into Heaven." Kalaproth, "Asia Polyglotta," p. 202. See also Schmidt, "Forschungen im Gebiete der Volker mittel Asiens," p. 52; and Pallas, "Sammlung Historischer Nachrichten uber die Mongolischen Volkerschaften," vol. II p. 429: De la Croix: "Histoire d' Genghiscan," p. 63.

A See Elphinstone's History; Stewart's History of Bengal, and his Catalogue of Tippoo's Library; Jour. R. As. Soc. xvii. 138; Jour. des Savants, 1840, p. 221; Jour. Asiatique, IV. serie, vol. iii; Collection Orient. I. 198; Hammer, Goldene Horde, I. XV. XXIII.; Haji

Khalfa, iv. 153; Ouseley: Jehanara, x. 7.

EXTRACTS

TABAKAT XI

HISTORY OF THE GHAZNIVIDE SOVEREIGNS (Page 6 to 27 of the Printed Text)

Imam Abu-l Fazl al Hasan Baihaki relates in the Tarikh-i Nasiri that Sultan Sa'id Mahmud heard form his father, Amir Subuktigin's that his (Subuktigin's) father was called Karabahkam. His name was Jauk (troop), and in Turki they call a troop bahkam; so that the meaning of the name Kara-bahkam is 'black troop'. Whenever the Turks in Turkistan heard his name they fled before him on account of his activity and courage.

Imam Muhammad 'Ali Abu-l Kasim Hamadi says in his Tarikh-i Majdul, that Amir Subuktigin was a descendant of King Yazdajird. When this monarch was slain in a mill in the country of Merv. in the reign of the commander of the faithful 'Usman, his followers and dependants (atba' wa ashya') came to Turkistan, and entering into intermarriages with the people of that country after two or three generations (their descendants) became Turks. Their palaces in this country are still standing. The following is a genealogical table of this

the authority of the Farhang-i Shu'uri, that the only correct spelling of this name is "Sebuktigin," or, according to the system adopted in this work, Sibuktigin, but Ibn Khallikan distinctly says the word should be spelt "Subuktigin." (A carefully written MS. of 'Utbi in the British Museum writes it "Subuktikin." The orthography of all these Turki names is very variable and unsettled. Historians differ from each other and are often at variance with themselves.—Jour. R.A.S. ix. 268).

race: Amir Subuktigin, son of Jauk Kara-bahkam, who was the son of Kara Arslan, the son of Kara-malat, son of Kara Nu'man, son of Firoz, son Yazdajird, who was the sovereign of Persia⁶—but God knows the truth.

I.—AMIRU-L GHAZI NASIRU-D DIN SUBUKTIGIN

Imam Abu-l Fazl Baihaki writes that Nasr Haji was a trader in the reign of 'Abdu-l Malik Nuh Samani. He bought Subuktigin, and took him to Bukhara as a slave. The marks of wisdom and activity were stamped upon his forehead, and he was purchased by the Lord Chamberlain (Amir hajib), Alptigin. In the service of this nobleman he went to Tukharistan, and when Alptigin was appointed governor of that place he continued to serve him. In the course of events Alptigin came afterwards to Ghaznin, when he conquered the country of Zawulistan, and wrested Ghaznin from the hands of Amir Anuk.⁷

"A long account of the parentage of Subuktigin is given in the Jamiu-t Tawarikh, in which his descent is traced from Tughril king of Merv. Firishta follows the genealogy here given. The Rauzatu-s Safa does not notice either. Briggs, Ferishta 1. 13; Gemaldesaal, iv.

p. 105.

Thomas published a translation of this passage in the Jour. R. As. Society, vol. xvii, p. 141. In his translation, and in the Munshi's original translation from the MS., the word "Amir" does not appear, but the editors of the printed text must have had authority for it. The word is important, because Thomas takes "Anuk" to be a tocal, not a personal or tribal appellation, and proposes to change the orthography so as to make the word to be "Lambak," i.e. "Lamghan." If the name is a local one we must here read "Amir of Anuk." I have my doubts upon this, and I cannot acquiesce in the change of "Anuk" to "Lambak." The printed text gives "Anuk," and the MSS. of

Eight years afterwards Alptigin died,⁸ and was succeeded by his son Ishak. This chief fought with Anuk, and being defeated he went to Bukhara, where he succeeded in obtaining assistance from Amir Mansur Nuh. Thus strengthened, he returned and retook Ghazni. One year later he expired, and Bilkatigin⁹ the chief of the Turks, was raised to his place. This chief was a very just and religious man, and was one of the greatest warriors in the world. He died after a reign of two years. Amir Subuktigin was in his service. Bilkatigin was succeeded by Amir Pari¹⁰ who was a very depraved man. A party of the inhabitants of Ghazni opened communications with Abu 'Ali Anuk, and invited him back. Abu 'Ali obtained the aid of the son of the king of Kabul¹¹ but when they came into the vicinity (hadd) of

the India Library, of the R. A. Society, and of Paris, agree in this orthography. Sir H. Elliot's MS. has "Abuk." Elsewhere we have had it as "Kubak," and Thomas says it is also written "Luyak." The change of any of these forms to "Lambak" is a bold one, and I prefer adhering to the best authorised from, although we are unable to identify it with any known name.

8 There are coins, one of them at least undisputed, dated H. 347, bearing the name of "Albtigin."—See Note

in the Appendix on the Coins in another volume.

The printed text here gives the name "Milkatigin," but Sir H. Elliot's MS. has "Bilkatigin," which is correct. The elevation of Bilkatigin is a fact unnoticed by every other known historian, but it is supported by the evidence of the Jamiu-l Hikayat, and it is incontestibly proved by a unique coin bearing his name, and dated A.H. 359 (A. D. 969). See Jour. R. A. S. xvii. 142.

10 "Mari" in Sir H. E's MS. and "Piri" in Thomas'

transaltion of this passage.

11 The Munshi's translation had "Mir Shah of Kabul."

Charkh,12 Subuktigin with five hundred Turks fell upon them and defeated them. He put a great number to the sword, and took many prisoners. He also captured two elephants, and carried them to Ghazni. After the achievement of this victory the people, who were disgusted with Pari on account of his wickedness (fasad), raised Subuktigin with unanimous consent to the chieftainship of Ghazni. On the twenty-seventh of Shaban A.H. 336 (April, 977), on Friday, he came out of the fort with the umbrella, jewels, and banners. and proceeded to the Jami Masjid, where he was confirmed in the government and sovereignty of the country. He carried his arms from Ghaznin to different countries, and brought Zamin-dawar,13 Kusdar, Bamian, the whole of Tukharistan and Ghor into his possession. On the side of India he defeated Jaipal at the head of a large army and numcrous elephants. He also drove back Bughra Khan, of Kashghar, (from his attacks upon) the Samanian dynasty. He then went to Balkh and restored the chief of Bukhara to his throne. In his time great exploits were performed and all the sources of internal dissensions in Khurasan were eradicated.

In the month of Shawwal, A.H. 384 (November, 994), the command of Khurasan was conferred on Amir Mahmud. under the title of Saifu-d daula, and Amir Subuktigin received the title of Nasiru-d din. He expelled Abu-l hasan Saimjur, and Khurasan was cleared of its enemies. Amir Subuktigin was a wise, just, brave, and religious man, faithful to his agreements, truthful in his words, and not avaricious for wealth. He was kind and just to his subjects, and the Almighty God had

13 Dawar or Zamin-dawar is the country on the Helmand, between Sijistan and Ghor.

¹² Var. "Kharj."—Charkh has been identified with a village of that name in Lohgar.—See Jour. R.A.S. xvii 141. Ayin-i Akbari II. p. 181. Erskine's Baber, p. 48.

bestowed upon him all the great qualities which are admirable in nobles and princes. The length of his reign was twenty years, and of his life fifty-six years. He died in the vicinity of Balkh, at the village of Barmal Madrui, A.H. 386 (996 A.D.).¹⁴

II.—REIGN OF THE GREAT KING YAMINU-D DAULA MAHMUD NIZAMU-D DIN ABU-L KASIM MAHMUD, SON OF SUBUKTIGIN Sultan Mahmud was a great monarch. He was the first. Muhammadan king who received the title of Sultan. from the Khalif. He was born on the night of Thursday, the tenth of Muharram, A.H. 36115 (2nd October 971), in the seventh year after the time of Bilkatigin. A moment (sa'at) before his birth, Amir Subuktigin saw in a dream that a tree sprang up from the fire-place in the midst of his house and grew so high that it covered the whole world, with its shadow. Waking in alarm from his dream, he began to reflect upon the import of it. At that very moment a messenger came, bringing the tidings that the Almighty had given him a son. Subuktigin greatly rejoiced, and said, I name the child Mahmud. On the same night that he was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parshawar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down.

Mahmud was a man of great abilities, and is renowed as one of the greatest champions of Islam. He ascended the throne in Balkh in the year 387 H. (997 A.D.) and received investiture by the Khalifa Al Kadir bi-llah. His influence upon Islam soon became widely known, for he converted as many as a thousand idoltemples into mosques, subdued the cities of Hindustan.

¹⁴ The coins of Subuktigin in some variety are extant.

¹⁵ Firishta gives the date as 9th Muharram, 357 H. and he has been followed by Elphinstone.—Briggs' Ferishta, I. 33; Elphinstone, 323.

and vanquished the Rais of that country. He captured Jaipal, who was the greatest of them, kept him at Yazd (?) in Khurasan, and gave orders so that he was bought for eighty dirams. He led his armies to Nahrwala and Gujarat, carried off the idol (manat) from Somnat, and broke it into four parts. One part he deposited in the Jami Masjid of Ghazni, one he placed at the entrance of the royal palace, the third he sent to Mecca and the fourth to Medina. Unsuri composed a long Kasida on this victory. (The story of his return from Somnat through the desert of Sind follows, and an account is given of the state and pomp of his Court.) He died in the year 421 H. (1030 A.D.) in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and at sixty-one years of age.

III.—MUHAMMAD BIN MAHMUD JALALU-D DAULA17

Jalalu-d daula Muhammad was a good amiable man. Many curious poems are attributed to him. When his father Mahmud died, his brother Masud was in 'Irak, and the nobles of the court of Mahmud resolved upon placing Muhammad on the throne which they did in the year 421 H.(1030 A.D.). He was a man of gentle temper and had not the energy necessary for governing a kingdom. A party of the friends of Masud wrote to him in 'Irak, and that prince gathered a force, with which he marched upon Ghazni. When intelligence of his design neached Ghazni, Muhammad prepared an army and went out to meet his brother. 'Ali Kurib was Hajib and Commander-in-Chief. When they reached Takinabad¹⁸

¹⁶ The meaning of this passage is obscure. The text runs thus:—Jaipal ra bigiraft wa dar man yazid bikhurasan bidasht wa bifarmud ta bihishtad diram ura bikharidand.

¹⁷ Note in the Text-"Names of the sons of Muhammad, Muyidu-d daula Ahmad, 'Abdu-r Rahman, 'Abdu-r Rahman,'

¹⁸ The largest town in Garmsir.

they heard of Masud's approach, so they siezed upon Muhammad, blinded him, and put him in prison. 'Ali Kurib then led his army on to Hirat to meet Masud. When he came within a stage of that place, he went to wait upon the Sultan, but Masud ordered him to be made prisoner, and his whole force to be destroyed. On this occasion Muhammad reigned for seven months. When Masud was killed at Marikala, Sultan Muhammad was brought out of prison, and although he was blind he was once more placed upon the throne. He then marched at the head of his army towards Ghazni, but Maudud, son of Masud came forth to avenge his father, met his uncle in battle, defeated him, and slew him and his children. The second time he reigned four months. His age was forty-five years when his death occurred, in the year 432 H.

IV.—NASIRU-D DIN ALLAH MASUDU-SH SHAHID (THE MARTYR)¹⁹

Nasiru-d din Allah was the appellation of this prince, but his family name was Abu Mas'ud. He and his brother Sultan Muhammad were born on the same day. Sultan Mas'ud, the martyr, ascended the throne in A.H. 422 (1031 A.D.). He was so exceedingly generous that people used to call him "the second 'Ali" and for his bravery they named him "the second Rustam." No man could lift his battle axe from the ground with one hand, and even an elephant could not stand before him. His father envied his strength, and used to keep him under control. He (Mahmud) kept Muhammad at Ghazni, and at length he obtained authority from the Khalif to place the name and titles of Muhammad in the Khutba before those of Masud. Khwaja Abu Nasr Mishkan says: "When the letters (of the Khalif) were read in

Note in one MS.—"Names of the children of Sultan Masud: —Muhammad, Maujud, Maudud, Ibrahim, Izid-yar, Farrukh-zad, Shuja, Murad Shah, 'Ali.'

Mahmud's court, it was felt by us, and by all the princes and great men, to be a heavy blow, for marks of intelligence and courage were apparent on the brow of Masud. When the prince came forth from the presence of his father, I, Abu Nasr Mishkan went after him and said to him, "O Prince, this postponement of your name in the letter of the Khalif is very offensive to your servants." The prince said, "Don't grieve about it, the sword is a truer prophet than the pen." He then told me to return. I had no sooner got back than the informers told the Sultan Mahmud of my devotion to Masud. He sent for me, and I waited upon him. He asked me why I went after Masud, and what I had said to him. I related exactly all that had passed, without reserve, for by concealment my life would have been imperilled. The Sultan then said, "I know that Masud excels Muhammad in every respect, and after my death the kingdom will devolve upon him, but I take this trouble now on behalf of Muhammad, that the poor fellow may enjoy some honour and gratification during my lifetime, for after my death it will not be so safe for him. May God have mercy on him!"

Abu Nasr Mishkan goes on to say:—"In this incident two things surprised me very much. The first was the answer which Masud so kindly and discreetly gave me. The second was the quickness and strict control of Mahmud from whom this little attention of mine could not be concealed." When Sultan Mahmud took 'Irak he placed Masud on the throne of that country, and before that period Hirat and Khurasan had been ruled in his name. After he ascended the throne of Spahan (Ispahan) he took the countries of Re, Kazwin, Hamadan, and Taram, and he overcame the Dailamites. Several

²⁰ Here written with "toe." The Marasidu-l Ittila writes it with te, and says the place is situated in the hills between Kazwin and Jilan.

times he received robes of honour from the Khalifate. After the death of Mahmud he came to Ghazni, and took possession of his father's kingdom. Several times he led his armies to India, and waged religious war. Twice he went to Tabaristan and Mazandaran. Towards the end of his reign the Saljuks made inroads, and three times he scattered their forces in the neighbourhood of Marv and Sarakhs. But as it was the will of God that the kingdom of Khurasan should come into the hands of the Saljuks, he eventually fought a bloody battle with them for three days at Talikan.21 On the third day, which was a Friday, the Sultan was defeated, and retreated by way of Gharjistan to Ghazni. In panic he collected his treasures and went towards India, but in Marikala22 his Turki and Hindi slaves revolted, took him prisoner, and raised Muhammad to the throne. They sent Masud to the fort of Kiri23 and there he was slain in the year 432

²¹ A city between Merv and Balkh. Istakhri and Ibn Haukal call it the largest city in Khurasan, and say it was three days' journey from Merv. Firishta states that the battle was fought at Dandankan, a town ten parasangs from Merv, on the road to Sarakhs.

²² Sir H. Elliot reads "Margala," and says, "according to Firishta he was taken at the Sarai of Margala, near the Sind, or according to others, on the Jhailam. Briggs reads the name Mariala, and Wilken, Maricala. The noted pass of Margala is meant, near which there is a place of note called Sarai. The Tabakat-i Akbari and the Tarikh-i Badauni concur in reading Margala."

the name as Kendi and Kaidi. Haidar Razi has Bakar. The extract of the Rauzata-s Safa, printed by Sir H. Elliot, gives "Kiri," but Wilken's printed edition, and the Bombay lithographed edition of that work, have Kabri or Kabra, this being in all probability intended for Kiri, as one dot only makes the difference (Kabri-

H. (1040 A.D.). His age was forty-five years and he had reigned nine years.

V.-MAUDUD, SON OF MASUD, SON OF MAHMUD24 Shahabu-d daula Abu Sa'd Maudud, son of Nasiru-d din Allah Masud, upon receiving the news of his father's assassination, ascended the throne. When his father, Masud started for Hindustan he was appointed to act as vicegerent over Ghazni and its dependencies, and it was in the year 432 H. (1040 A.D.) that he mounted the throne. To avenge his father he collected an army, and set out towards Hindustan, against his uncle Muhammad. The opposite party had taken Muhammad out of prison, and had seated him on the throne. The nobles of Hindustan submitted to him, and the Mahmudi and the Masudi Turks who had revolted against Masud rallied round him and supported him. For four months they upheld him as ruler, but Maudud defeated him at Takarharud25 and took him prisoner, with all his children and dependents. Maudud avenged his father's blood upon him, and the Turks and Tajiks and every one else who had taken part in his father's assassination he put to death. He thus obtained honour and renown. Afterwards he returned to Ghazni, and brought his father's territories under his power. He reigned nine years, and died in the year 441 H. (1049 A.D.) at the age of thirty-nine years.

kiri). Firishta also has Kiri, though Briggs reads the name "Kurry."--See Abbot's Map, Jour. As. Soc. Ben. Dec. 1848.

24 Note in the Orig.—"Names of the children of Sultan Maudud: Mansur, Muhammad, Sulaiman. Mahmud."

25 Or "Bakarha," perhaps "Bakhrala." (Firishta's text says "Depur", not "Duntoor," as in Brigg' translation.)

cile,

VI.—'ALI, SON OF MAS'UD, AND MUHAMMAD, SON OF MAUDUD These two princes, uncle and nephew, were raised jointly to the throne by the Turks and nobles. Every man took matters into his own hand, and when it was seen that they had no wisdom or power, and that ruin was coming upon the army and the people, they were dethroned after two months' reign, and sent back to a fort. 'Abdur Rashid was raised to the throne in their stead.

VII.—'ABDU-R RASHID, SON OF MAHMUD

Sultan Bahau-d daula Abdu-r Rashid, son of Mahmud, ascended the throne in the year 441 H. (1049 A.D.). He was a learned and clever man, and used to listen to chronicles and write history; but he had no firmness or courage, and so changes and reverses came upon the state. The Saljuks on the side of Khurasan, coveted the throne of Ghazni. Daud obtained the throne of Khurasan. Alp Arslan, son of Daud, was a good general, and they resolved to attack Ghazni. Alp Arslan advanced from Tukharistan with a large force, and his father, Daud, marched by way of Sistan to Bust. 'Abdu-r Rashid collected an army, and placed at the head of it Tughril, who had been one of the slaves of Mahmud, and was a very energetic man. He marched against Alp Arslan, and routed him in front of the valley of Khamar. From thence he returned speedily to Bust and Daud retreated before him to Sistan. He defeated Beghu, the uncle of Daud, and when he had achieved two or three such victories he returned to Ghazni, where he killed 'Abdu-r Rashid and placed himself on the throne. 'Abdu-r Rashid reigned two years and a half.26 His age was thirty.

VIII.—TUGHRIL, THE ACCURSED

Tughril had been a slave of Muhamud, and was a

26 Two MSS. say "two years," only.

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man of great energy and courage. In the reign of Sultan Maudud he went from Ghazni to Khurasan, and entered the service of the Saljuks. For some time he remained there, and learnt their method of war. In the time of 'Abdu-r Rashid he returned to Ghazni, where he took 'Abdu-r Rashid and slew him, together with eleven other princes. He then ascended the throne of Ghazni, and reigned for forty days with great tyranny and injustice. Some one asked him how the desire of sovereignty had entered into his mind, and he replied, "When 'Abdu-r Rashid sent me against Alp Arslan he made some promises to me, and confirmed them by giving me his hand. He was then so overpowered by fear that the sound of the tremor which had seized upon his bones came to my ears, and I knew that such a coward could never rule and govern. It was then that the desire of sovereignty fell upon me." Forty days after his usurpation, a Turk, by name Noshtigin, who was a soldier, turned against Tughril, and conspiring with some of his friends, they killed him on the throne. His head was then brought out, placed upon a pole, and carried round the city, so that the people might have assurance of security.

IX .- FARRUKH-ZAD, SON OF MASUD

When the Almighty God had recompensed Tughril for his atrocious deeds, and the people were delivered from him and his unbounded tyranny, there were left surviving in the fort of Barghand.²⁷ two princes who were sons of Masud. One of these was Ibrahim, and the other Farrukh-zad. Tughril, the accursed, had sent a party of men to the fort of Barghand to put them to death. The commandant of the fort pondered over the matter for a day, and kept these emmissaries at the gate

²¹ The printed text has Bazghand, but Sir H. Elliot reads Barghand, and says Barghand lies between Tak and Ghazni.

of the fort upon the understanding that they were to come in on the following day, and excute their orders. Suddenly some fleet messengers arrived with the intelligence that the accursed Tughril had been killed. When that wretched man fell in Ghazni by the hand of Noshtigin, the grandees, princes, and generals set about searching for a king. It was then discovered that two persons (of the royal family) were left surviving in the fort of Barghand. Accordingly they all repaired to that place. At first they wished to raise Ibrahim to the throne, but he was very feeble in body, and as no delay could be admitted, Farrukh-zad was brought out, and proclaimed king on Saturday, the ninth of Zilka'da A.H. 443 (March, 1052 A.D.).

Farrukh-zad was very mild and just. When he ascended the throne the country of Zawulistan was in a state of desolation from disease and murrain,²⁸ so he remitted the revenue that it might again become prosperous. He secured the territories of the kingdom and reigned seven years. He died of colic in the year 451 (1059 A.D.) at the age of thirty-four years.

X.—SULTAN IBRAHIM²⁹

Sultan Zahiru-d daula wa Nasiru-l Millat Raziu-d din Ibrahim, son of Masud, was a great king,—wise, just, good, God-fearing, and kind, a patron of letters, a supporter of religion, and a pious man. When Farrukh-zad became king, Ibrahim was taken out of the fort of Barghand and brought to that of Nai, and on the death of Farrukh-zad all men concurred in recognizing his succession. An officer named Hasan went to wait upon him,

29 A note gives the names of his thirty-six sons, which

are said to differ slightly in the three MSS. used.

^{28 &#}x27;Awariz-o mutan.—The former words mean literally diseases, but it is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts.

and with the approbation of the people of the kingdom he was brought out from the fort, and on Monday he auspiciously ascended the throne. The next day he spent in mourning for his late brother, and paid a visit to his tomb, and to the tombs of his ancestors. All the nobles and great men walked on foot in attendance up him. He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people. When the intelligence of his accession reached Daud, the Saljuki, he sent some nobles into Khurasan, and made peace with him. After the death of Daud, his son, Alp Arslan, confirmed this treaty of peace. Ibrahim strengthened himself in the possession of his ancestors; the disorders which had arisen in the country from the late extraordinary events he rectified, and the Mahmudi kingdom began once again to flourish. Ruined places were built afresh, and several fortified places and towns were founded, as Khairabad, Imanabad, and other places. Many wonders and marvels appeared in his reign, and Daud, the Saljuki, died, who in havoc, war, slaughter, and conquest, passed like a flash of lightning. Ibrahim was born at Hirat, in the year of the conquest of Gurgan, 424 H. (1033 A.D.). He had thirty-six sons and forty daughters. All the daughters he married to illustrious nobles or learned men of repute. One of these princesses was ancestress in the third degree of Minhaj Siraj. The cause of the emigration of the author's ancestors from Juzjan, was that Imam 'Abdu-l Khalik. who is buried at Tahirabad, in Ghazni, saw in a dream while he lived in Juzjan, an angel who told him to rise, go to Ghazni, and take a wife. Upon his awaking it struck him that this might be some work of the devil, but as he dreamed the same thing three times successively, he acted in compliance with his dream and came to Ghazni. There he married one of the daughters of Ibrahim, and by that princess he had a son named Ibrahim. This Ibrahim was father

of Maulana Minhaju-d din 'Usman, who was father of Maulana Siraju-d din, the wonder of his time, and father of Minhaju-s Siraj. Sultan Ibrahim reigned happily for forty-two years, and died in the year 492 H. (1098 A.D.) at the age of sixty.

XI.—'ALAU-D DIN MAS'UD, THE GENEROUS, SON OF IBRAHIM'30 Sultan Mas'ud the generous, was a virtuous prince, who had a prosperous reign. He possessed many excellent qualities, and was adorned with justice and equity. He ascended the throne in the days of Al Mustazhar bi-llah Ahmad, commander of the faithful, son of Muktadar. He was very modest and liberal. He abolished all the tyrannical practices which had been introduced in former reigns and cancelled the newly-established imposts throughout the dominions of Mahmud, and the country of Zawulistan. Taxes and imposts were remitted in all his dominions. He restored to the princes, nobles, and grandees their possessions as they had held them in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, and he adopted whatever seemed best for the welfare of the state. Amir 'Azdu-d daula was confirmed in the governorship of Hindustan. In the days of this prince the great Hajib died; but Hajib Taghatigin crossed the river Ganges, and made an incursion into Hindustan, carrying his arms farther than any army had reached since the days of Sultan Mahmud. All the affairs of state were reduced to a system in his reign, and there was nothing to disturb the mind of any one in any quarter. He was born in Ghazni in A.H. 453 (1061 A.D.) and after reigning seventeen years, he died in the year 509 (1115 A.D.) at the age of fifty-seven. He married the sister of Sultan Sanjar, who was called Mahd-i 'Irak (cradle of 'Irak).

Malik Arslan Abu-l Malik ascended the throne A.H. 509

³⁰ A note gives the names of his seventeen sons.

(A.D. 1115), and brought Garmsir and the kingdom of Ghazni under his rule. Bahram Shah, his uncle, fled to Sultan Sanjar, in Khurasan. Several wonderful phenomena occurred in the reign of this prince. One was that fire and lightning fell from the sky, and burnt the markets of Ghazni. Other distressing calamities and events occurred during his reign, making it hateful to the people. Arslan was famous for his magnanimity and energy, courage, and bravery. After he had ascended the throne he treated his mother, Mahd-i 'Irak, with contempt, and this incensed Sanjar, who gave his aid to Bahram Shah, and marched to Ghazni. Malik Arslan gave him battle, but being defeated, he fled to Hindustan, and fell into great distress. He expired in A.H. 511 (1117 A.D.) after a reign of two years. in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

XIII.—BAHRAM SHAH31

Mu'izzu-d daula Bahram Shah was handsome and manly, liberal, just and a friend of his people. In the early part of his career when Malik Arslan succeeded his father, Sultan Mas'ud the generous, he went to Khurasan, the throne of which country was occupied in those days by the great Sultan Sa'id Sanjar. Bahram Shah remained for some time at his Court. But at length Sultan Sanjar marched against Ghazni, and defeated Malik Arslan in battle. Bahram Shah then mounted the throne, and was supported by Sultan Sanjar. Saiyid Hasan composed an ode, which he recited at Court in the presence of Sanjar. Sanjar went back to Khurasan, and Bahram took possession of the country. He made some expeditions to Hindustan, and on the twenty-seventh of Ramazan, A.H. 512, he captured Muhammad Bahalim, and kept him a prisoner; but he afterwards liberated him, and assigned the whole country of Hindustan to him.

³¹ A note gives the names of his nine sons.

This officer again revolted and built the fort of Nagor, in the Siwalik hills, in the vicinity of Bera.32 He had many sons and dependents. Bahram Shah proceeded to Hindustan to subdue the fort, and Muhammad Bahalim marched towards Multan to meet him, and gave battle, but God punished him for his ingratitude, and he with his ten33 sons, their horses and arms, fell on the day of battle into a quagmire,34 so that no trace of him was left. Bahram Shah returned to Ghazni, and had to fight against the kings of Ghor. In the war his son Daulat Shah was slain, and in one campaign he was defeated three times by Sultan 'Alau-d din. Ghazni fell into the hands of the Ghorians, who set it on fire and destroyed it. Bahram Shah went to Hindustan, but when the Ghorians had retired, he again came to Ghazni, and there expired. His reign lasted forty-one years.

XIV.—KHUSRU SHAH, SON OF BAHRAM SHAH35

Sultan Yaminu-d daula Khusru Shah ascended the throne in A.H. 552 (1157 A.D.). The kings and princes of Ghor had shaken the throne of the descendants of Mahmud, and had wrested from them and desolated the countries of Ghazni, Bust, Zamin-dawar, and Takina-bad. Weakness had thus fallen on the kingdom and its splendour was departed. When Khusru Shah ascended the throne he was weak and unable to bring the country under his rule.

Note in the Text.—"Sons of Khusru Shah—Khusru Malik, Mahmud Shah, Kai Khusru.")

^{32 &}quot;Sabra" in one MS.

to be the correct number.—See Firishta I. 151.

vary in the different MSS. Briggs says "a quagmire," and something like that must be intended.

A body of Ghuzz (Turks) also arose and attacked Khurasan³⁶ where the reign of Sultan Sa'id Sanjar had come to an end. An army likewise came against Ghazni, and Khusru Shah being unable to resist them went to India. He thus lost Ghazni which fell into the hands of the Ghuzz, and so remained for twelve years. But at length Sultan Sa'id Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad Sam led an army from Ghor, expelled the Ghuzz, took possession of Ghazni, and mounted the throne. Khusru Shah had gone to Lahore in Hindustan, where he died. He reigned seven years.

XV.—KHUSRU MALIK, SON OF KHUSRU SHAH, THE LAST KING OF THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY

Khusru Malik Taju-d daula Sultan Jahan, the gentle king, mounted the throne at Lahore. This prince was exceedingly gentle, liberal and modest but fond of pleasure. He possessed many excellent qualities, but as he lived when the rule of his family came to an end, he was held in small esteem. With him closed the power of his house, and anarchy reigned in the country. All the nobles and officers of the State, both Turks and freemen, (atrak o ahrar), deserted him. The slaves and servants of the throne took the government into their own hands, while he indulged in luxury and pleasure.

Sultan Sa'id Muizzu-d daula Muhammad Sam came every year from Ghazni, continually increasing his hold upon Hind and Sind, till at length in A.H. 577 (1181 A.D.), he advanced to the gates of Lahore, where he took the elephant and the son of Khusru Shah and carried them off with him.

In A.H. 583 (1187 A.D.) he again advanced on Lahore and took it. He then dethroned Khusru Malik, sent him to Ghazni from whence he was subsequently

^{36 (}The printed text omits the word "Khurasan", but it is necessary to the sense and true to the fact.)

sent to Firoz-Koh, which was the capital of the great king Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad Sam. By order of this monarch, Khusru Malik was kept a prisoner in the fort of Balrawan, in Gharjistan. When the war (hadisa) of Sultan Shah (of Khwarizm) broke out in Khurasan, the kings of Ghor³⁷ were obliged to throw themselves into it, and they then put Sultan Khusru Malik to death in the year 598 H. (A.D. 1201). His son Bahram Shah who was a captive in the fort of Saifrud in Ghor, was also slain. Thus ended the house of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin. The kingdom of Iran, the throne of Hindustan, and the country of Khurasan all fell into the possession of the Shansabaniya Kings.

TABAKAT XVII

THE SHANSABANIYA SULTANS AND THE KINGS OF GHOR³⁸
(Page 34 to 40 of the printed text)

1.—Amir Fulad Ghori Shansabi³⁹

Amir Fulad Ghori was one of the sons of Malik Shansab, son of Harnak. The mountains of Ghor came into his possession, and he gave new life to the names of his forefathers. When the founder of the house of 'Abbas, Abu Muslim Marwazi, revolted, and resolved upon expelling the officers of the Ummayides from Khurasan, Amir Fulad led the forces of Ghor to his assistance, and

37 Ghiyasu-d din and Muhammad Shahabu-d din were brothers, and held a sort of joint rule.

38 The opening of this book is occupied with genealogies by which the pedigree of the kings of Ghor

is carried through Zuhak up to Noah.

39 Briggs in Firishta writes this name "Shisty." See Thomas' Paper on the Coins of the Ghori Dynasty.—Jour. R. As. Soc. xvii. 190.

took an active part in the victories of the race of 'Abbas, and of the people of the house of the prophet. The fortress of Mandesh⁴⁰ was in his possession, and he ruled for some time over the Jabbal and Ghor. Upon his death the was succeeded by the sons of his brother but after these nothing is known of the rulers of Ghor until the time of Amir Banji Naharan.

2.—AMIR BANJI, SON OF NAHARAN

Amir Banji Naharan was a great chief, and his history is well known in Ghor. He is considered one of the greatest kings of that territory, and all its kings are descended from him. His pedigree is thus given.

Amir Banji was a handsome and excellent man, possessing good qualities, and of very estimable character. When the power of the family of 'Abbas was established, and the territories of the Muhammadans came under the rule of the Khalifs of that house, the first person of the Ghori family who went to the seat of the Khilafat and obtained the title of sovereignty and a royal banner was Amir Banji Naharan. The cause of his going to the presence of Harunu-r Rashid, the commander of the faithful. was as fallows:-There was a tribe in Ghor called Shishani, who asserted that their ancestors were first converted to Muhammadanism, and then the Shansabanis. Muhammad is called in the Ghori language Hamd, and when they espoused the faith they were designated Hamids, or Muhammadans. In the time of Amir Banji there was a man of the Shishani tribe whose name was Sis, or in the Ghori language Shish. A dispute arose between this Amir Shish and Amir Banji, for the chiefship of Ghor, and contention broke out among the people. It was agreed

⁴⁰ A fortress in Khurasan.

by both parties that Amir Banji and Shish should both repair to the Khalif, and whoever brought back a patent of sovereignty and royal ensign should be the chief.

(Account of the interview which the two chiefs had with the Khalif, when Amir Banji, through the instruction in court eliquette which he had received from a Jew, was named chief, and Shish was made general.)

From that time the title of the Shansabani kings, according to the gracious words of Harunu-r Rashid, commander of the faithful, became Kasim-i Amiru-l Muminin. The two chiefs returned to Ghor, and assumed their respective offices of ruler of Ghor and commander of the army. These two offices are held to this day by the different parties, according to this arrangement. The kings of Ghor were all Shansabanians, and the commanders of the army are called Shishaniyins such as Muadu-d din, Abu-l 'Abbas Shish, and Sulaiman Shish.

3.—AMIR SURI

The writer of this work has not been able to obtain the annals of the kings of Ghor from the reign of Amir Banji down to the present reign, so as to enable him to write their history in detail. The author resides in Dehli, and through the disorders which the inroads of the infidel Mughals have caused in the territories of Islam, there has been no possibility of his copying from the histories which he had seen in Ghor. He has written what he found in the Tarikh-i Nasiri and the Tarikh-i Haizam Nabi, as well as what he was able to gleam from old men of Ghor, but his readers must pardon imperfections.

It is said that Amir Suri was a great king, and most of the territories of Ghor were in his possession. But as many of the inhabitants of Ghor, of high and low degree, had not yet embraced Muhammadanism, there

was constant strife among them. The Saffarians came from Nimroz to Bust and Dawar, and Yakub Lais overpowered Lak-lak, who was chief of Takinabad, in the country of Rukhaj.41 The Ghorians sought safety in Sarha-sang,42 and dwelt there in security but even among them hostilities constantly prevailed between the Muhammadans and the infidels. One castle was at war with another castle, and their feuds were unceasing; but owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rasiat, which are in Ghor, no foreigner was able to overcome them, and Shansabani Amir Suri was the head of all the Mandeshis. In Ghor there are five great and lofty mountains, which the people of Ghor agree in considering as higher than the Rasiat mountains. One of these is Zar Murgh, in Mandesh, and the capi tal and palace of the Shansabani kings are at the foot of this mountain. It is said that Zal Zar, father of Rustam, was here nourished by a Simurgh, and some of the inhabitants of the foot of the mountain say that between the fifth and sixth centuries a loud voice of cry and lamentation was heard to proceed from it, announcing the death of Zal. The second mountain is called Sar Khizr; it is also in the territory of Mandesh, in the vicinity of Takhbar. The third is Ashak, in the country of Timran, which is the greatest and highest of the whole territory of Ghor. The country of Timran lies in the valleys and environs of this mountain. The fourth is Wazni, and the territories of Dawar and Walasht, and the fort of Kahwaran, are within its ramifications and valleys. And the fifth mountain is Faj Hanisar,43 in the country of Ghor. It is very inaccessible and secure. It is said that the

¹¹ A division of Sijistan; Arachosia.

42"Sarhaosang," or "Sarha wa Sang," in some copies.

13 Or "Hansar."

length, breadth, and height of this mountain are beyond the limits of guess, and the power of understanding. In the year 590 (1194 A.D.), a piece of the trunk of an ebony tree was found on this mountain, which exceeded two hundred mans in weight, and no one could tell how large and high the tree must have been.

4.—MALIK MUHAMMAD SURI

Abu-l Hasan al Haizam, son of Muhammad-n Nabi author of the Tarikhu-l Haizam, says that when the government of Khurasan and Zawulistan departed from the Samanians and Saffarians, and fell to Amir Subuktigin, he led his army several times towards the hills of Ghor, and carried on many wars. When Amir Mahmud Subuktigin succeeded to the throne, the kingdom of Ghor had devolved upon Amir Muhammad Suri, and he had brought all the territories of Ghor under his sway. Sometimes he made submission to Sultan Mahmud, and at others he revolted, and withheld the payment of the fixed tribute, and the contingent of arms which he had agreed to supply. Relying on the strength of his forts, and the numbers and power of his army, he was continually engaging in hostilities. Sultan Mahmud was consequently always on the watch, and his mind was much disturbed by Suri's power, his large army, and the security afforded to him by the height and inaccessibility of the hills of Ghor. At last he marched to Ghor with a considerable army. Muhammad Suri was besieged in the fort of Ahangaran, and held out for a long time. He fought desperately, but was at last compelled to evacuate the fort, upon conditions, and made his submission to Sultan Mahmud.

The Sultan took him and his younger son, whose name was Shish, to Ghazni, because the lad was very dear to his father. When they reached the neighbour-

hood of Gilan, Amir Muhammad Suri died. Some say that he was taken prisoner, and as he had a very high spirit he could not brook the disgrace. He had a ring, under the stone of which was concealed some poison, which he took and then died. The Sultan immediately sent his son Shish back to Ghor, and gave the chieftain-ship of Ghor to the eldest son, Amir Abu 'Ali bin Suri, an account of whom follows:

5. Amir Abu 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Suri.

6. Amir Abbas bin Shish bin Muhammad bin Suri.

7. Amir Muhammad bin 'Abbas.

8. Malik Kutbu-d din al Hasan bin Muhammad bin 'Abbs.

9. Malik 'Izzu-d din al Husain bin Hasan Abu-s. Salatin.

10. Malik Kutbu-d din Muhammad bin Husain, King of the Jabbal.

11. Sultan Bahau-d din Sam bin Husain.

12. Malik Shahabu-d din Muhammad bin Husain. King of Madin, by Ghor.

13. Malik Shuja'u-din 'Ali bin Husain.

14. Sultan 'Alau-d din Husain bin Husain bin Sam. (Page 54 to 63 of the Printed text)

Sultan Bahau-d din Sam. son of Husain, died in Kidan. whilst he was leading his army to Ghazni in order to exact revenge for the death of Sultan Suri, King of the Jabbal. Sultan 'Alau-d din then ascended the throne of Ghor and Firoz Koh. He assembled the forces of Ghor and Gharjistan, firmly resolved upon attacking Ghazni. Sultan Yaminu-d daula Bahram Shah, when he heard of these preparations, assembled the troops of Chazni and Hindustan and passing through Garmsir by way of Rukhaj and Takinabad, he came to Zamin-dawar. When 'Alau-d din came up with his army, Bahram Shah sent messengers to him, saying, "Go back to Ghor, and stay in the states of your forefathers; you have not the strength to resist my army, for I have brought elephants

with me." When the envoys delivered this message, 'Alau-d din replied, "If you have brought elephants (pil) I have brought the Kharmils-besides, you mistake, for you have slain my brothers, whist I have killed no one belonging to you. Have you not heard what the Almighty says? 'Whosoever is slain unjustly we have given his heir power (to demand satisfaction); and let him not exceed bounds in putting to death, for he is protected." When the messengers returned, both armies made ready for battle, Sultan 'Alaud-d din called for his two champions,44 named Kharmil, who were the heads of the army and the renowned heroes of Ghor. One of these was Kharmil Sam Husain, father of Malik Nasiru-d din Husain; the other was Kharmil Sam Banji. Both of these men were famous for courage. 'Alau-d din sent for them and said, "Bahram Shah has sent to say that he has brought elephants, and I have answered that I have brought the Kharmils. You must each take care to bring an elephant to the ground today." They bowed and retired. The two armies were drawn up at a place called Kotah-baz-bab. The two champions were on foot, and throwing off their coats of mail, they advanced to battle. When the elephants of Bahram Shah charged, the two champions each singled out one; and creeping under the armour, they ripped upon the bellies. of the animals with their knives. Kharmil Shah Banji fell under the feet of the elephant, and the animal rolling upon him, they both perished together. Kharmil Sam Husain brought down his elephant, extricated himself, and mounted a horse.

When 'Alau-d din had cased himself in armour ready for the fight, he called for an overcoat of red satin, which he put on over his armour. His attendants enquired why he did so, and he said it was to prevent

^{44 &}quot;Pahlawan."—Briggs in his Firishta says, "two gigantic brothers."

his men seeing his blood and feeling discouraged in the event of his being wounded with a lance or arrow.

It is the practice in the armies of Ghor for the infantary to protect themselves in battle with a covering made of a raw hide covered thickly on both sides with wool or cotton. This defensive covering is like a board, and is called *karoh*. When the men put it on they are covered from head to foot, and their ranks look like walls. The wool is so thick that no weapon can pierce it.

Daulat Shah, son of Bahram Shah, advanced to the assault, mounted on an elephant at the head of his cavalry, and 'Alau-d din directed his karoh-wearers to make an opening in their line, and allow the prince and his followers to pass through. When all had gone through the karoh-wearers closed up the gap in their line and the prince with his elephant and all his cavalry were slain.

When the armies of Bahram Shah saw this manœuvre and its bloody result, they broke and fled. 'Alau-d din pursued them from stage to stage until they reached a place called Josh-ab-garm (hot wells) near Takinabad. Here Bahram Shah made a stand, but was again defeated. 'Alau-d din followed in hot pursuit, and Bahram Shah having drawn together some of his scattered forces, and some reinforcements from Ghazni, he a third time gave battle and once more was routed.

The victor then entered Ghazni, and for seven nights and days he gave it to the flames. Writers record how that during these seven days the clouds of smoke so darkened the air that day seemed to be night, and the flames so lighted the sky at night that night looked like day. For these seven days plunder, devastation and slaughter were continuous. Every man that was found was slain, and all the women and children were made prisoners. Under the orders of the conqueror, all the Mahmudi kings, with the exception of Mahmud, Masud, and Ibrahim, were dragged from their graves and burnt.

All this time, 'Alau-d din sat in the palace of Ghazni occupied with drinking and debauchery. He had directed that the tomb of Saifu-d din Suri and of the King of the Jabbal should be sought out. Coffins were made for their bodies, and all the army was ordered to prepare for mourning. When the seven days were over, the city burnt and destroyed, and its inhabitants slain or scattered, on that very night, 'Alau-d din composed some verses in his own praise, which he gave to the minstrels to set to music and sing before him. (Verses).

He then ordered that the remnant of the people of Ghazni should be spared. Breaking up his court, he went to the bath, and on the morning of the eighth day he led the nobles and followers of Ghor to the tombs of his brothers, where he put on garments of mourning, and with all his army he remained there seven days and nights, mourning, making offerings and having the Kuran read. He then placed the coffins of his brothers in cradles, and marched with them towards Dawar and Bust; he destroyed all the palaces and edifices of the Mahmudi kings, which had no equals in the world, and devastated all the territory which had belonged to that dynasty. After that he returned to Ghor, and interred the remains of his brothers in the tombs of their ancestors.

While at Ghazni he had given directions that several of the Saiyids of that town should be taken in retaliation of Saiyid Majdu-d din, wazir of Sultan Suri, who was hanged with him from the bridge of Ghazni. These captives were brought into his presence and bags filled with the dirt of Ghazni were fastened round their necks. They were thus led to Firoz-koh, and there they were slain. Their blood was mixed with the earth they had carried from Ghazni and with that mixture 'Alau-d din built some towers on the hills of Firoz-koh, which are standing to this day. May God forgive him!

Having thus exacted vengeance, he devoted himself

to pleasure and wine, and he composed some more ver-

ses for minstrels to sing in his praise.

When he ascended the throne of Firoz-koh, he imprisoned his two nephews, Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad Sam and Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam, sons of Sultan Bahau-d din Sam, in a fort of Wahiristan, and settled an allowance for their maintenance. (Transactions with Sultan Sanjar Saljuki).

Towards the end of his life some emissaries of the Mulahi-datu-l maut came to him, and he paid great honour to these heretics, inviting them into all parts of his kingdom. They on their part were desirous of establishing their sway over the people of Ghor. This

remains a stain upon the fame of 'Alau-d din.

15. Malik Nasiru-d din al Husain bin Muhammad al Madaini.

16. Sultan Saifu-d din Muhammad bin Sultan

'Alau-d din Husain.

17. Sultanu-l 'azam Ghiyasu-d dunya wau-d din Abu-l Fath Muhammad Sam Kasim Amiru-l muminin.

18. Maliku-l Haji 'Alau-d din Muhammad bin

Abu 'Ali bin Husain ash Shansabi.

19. Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Mahmud bin Muhammad Sam Sahansabi.

20. Sultan Bahau-d din Sam bin Mahmud bin

Muhammad Sam.

21. Sultan 'Alau-d din Atsar bin Husain.

22. Sultan 'Alau-d din Muhammad bin Abu 'Ali, the last of these kings.

TABAKAT XIX

THE SHANSABANIYA SULTANS OF GHAZNI

(Printed Text p. 111)

This book contains an abridged account of the Shan-sabani Sultans, whose glory added lustre to the throne of Ghazni, and clevated the kingdoms of Hind and

Khurasan. The first of them was Sultan Saifu-d din Suri. After him came Sultan 'Alau-d din Husain, who took Ghazni, but did not reign there. The throne was next taken by Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam. When he was killed the crown was confided to his slave, Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz, and so the line ended.

1.—SULTAN SAIFU-D DIN SURI

Saifu-d din was a great king, of handsome appearance and noble carriage, and distinguished for courage, energy, humanity, justice and liberality. He was the first individual of this family who received the title of Sultan. When the news reached him of the destruction which had fallen upon his elder brother the king of the Jabbal (Kutbu-d din,) he resolved upon taking vengeance upon Bahram Shah. He gathered a great force in the states of Ghor and marched to Ghazni, where he routed Bahram and took the city. Bahram fled to Hindustan, and Saifu-d din ascended the throne of Ghazni, when he placed the territories of Ghor under his brother, Sultan Bahau-d din Suri, father of Ghiyasu-d din and Mu'izzu-d din. After he had secured Ghazni the chiefs of the army and the nobles of the city and environs submitted to him, and he conferred many favours upon them, so that the army and the subjects of Bahram Shah were overwhelmed by his bounteous care. When winter came on he sent his own forces back to Ghor, and kept with him only the troops and officers of Bahram Shah in whom he placed full confidence. His wazir, Saiyid Majdu-d-din Musawi, and a few of his old servants remained with him, all the rest of his officers both at Court and in the country had been in the service of the old government.

In the depth of the winter, when the roads to Ghor were closed by heavy falls of snow, the people of Ghazni saw that no army or assistance could come to Saifu-d din from that quarter, so they wrote to Bahram Shah

explaining how matters stood, and pressing upon him the necessity of seizing this favourable opportunity for the recovery of his dominions. The deposed king acted upon these advices, and marched suddenly to Ghazni, and attacked his foe. Suri, with his wazir and his old servants, abandoned the city and took the road to Ghor, but the horsemen of Bahram Sah pursued them and overtook them in the neighbourhood of Sang-i Surakh.45 They fought desperately until they were unhorsed, and then retreated into the hills, where they kept up such a shower of arrows that the foe could not approach them. When the last arrow had been shot the horsemen captured them, bound them hand and foot, and conducted them to Ghazni. At the gate of the city Sultan Suri was placed upon a camel, and his wazir, Majdu-d din, upon another. They were then led ignominiously round the city, and from the tops of the houses ashes, dirt, and filth were thrown upon their venerable heads. When they reached the one-arched bridge of Ghazni, the Sultan and his wazir were both gibbeted over the bridge. Such was the disgraceful cruelty practised upon this handsome, excellent, just and brave king. The Almighty, however, prospered the arms of Sultan 'Alau-d din Jahansoz, brother of Sultan Suri, who exacted full retribution for this horrible deed, as we have already related in another place.

2.—SULTANU-L GHAZI MU'IZZU-D DUNYA WAU-D DIN ABU-L MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD BIN SAM⁴⁶

Historians relate that Sultan 'Alau-d din was succeeded

45Or Sang-1 Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river.

or "Muhammad Sam." Ibn Asir and Firishta, followed by Elphinstone, call him "Shahabu-d din Ghori." The superscription on his coins is "Sultanu-l'Azam Mu'izzu-d

by his son Sultan Saifu-d din. This king released the two princes Ghiyasu-d din and Mu'izzu-d din (his cousins) who were confined in a fort of Wahiristan, as has been already narrated in the history of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din. Prince Ghiyasu-d din dwelt peacefully at Firoz-koh in the service of Sultan Saifu-d din, and Prince Mu'izzu-d din went to Bamian into the service of his uncle Fakhru-d din Masud.

When Ghiyasu-d din succeeded to the throne of Ghor after the tragical death of Saifu-d din, and the intelligence thereof came to Bamian, Fakhru-d din addressed his nephew Mu'izzu-d din saying, "Your brother is acting, what do you mean to do? You must bestir yourself." Mu'izzu-d din bowed respectfully to his uncle, left the Court, and started just as he was for Firoz-koh. When he arrived there he waited upon his brother and paid his respects, as has been already related. One year he served his brother, but having taken some offence he went to Sijistan to Malik Shamsu-d din Sijistani and stayed there one winter. His brother sent messengers to bring him back, and when he arrived he assigned to him the countries of Kasr-Kajuran and Istiya.47 When he had established his authority over the whole of Garmsir he made over to his brother the city of Takinabad, which was the largest town in Garmsir. This Takinabad is the place which was the cause of the quarrel with the house of Mahmud Subuktigin and it passed into the hands of the kings of Ghor. Sultan-i Ghazi 'Alau-d din sent the following quatrain to Khusru Shah bin Bahram Shah:

dunya wau-d din Abu-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin sam." See Note on the Coins, elsewhere. In the text of this work he is generally designated Sultan-i Ghazi, the victorious king.

47Or "Istiya," a city of Ghor, in the hills between Hirat and Ghazni.

Thy father first laid the foundation of this place "Before the people of the world had all fallen under injustice.

"Beware lest for one Takinabad thou shouldest bring

"The empire of the house of Mahmud to utter ruin.

When Sultan Mu'izzu-d din became master of Takinabad the armies and leaders of the Ghuzz had fled before the forces of Khita towards Ghazni, where they remained for twelve years, having wrested the country from the hands of Khusru Shah and Khusru Malik. Sultan Mu'izzu-d din kept continually assailing them from Takinabad and troubling the country. At length in the year 569 H .(1173 A.D.) Sultan Ghiyasu-d din conquered Ghazni, and returned to Ghor, after placing his brother Mu'izzu-d din upon the throne, as has been before related. This prince secured the territories of Ghazni, and two years afterwards in 570 H. (1174 A.D.) he conquered Gurdez.

In the third year he led his forces to Multan and delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians. In the same year 571 H. (1175 A.D.) the people of Sankaran⁴⁸ revolted and made great confusion, so he marched against them and put most of them to the sword. It has been written by some that these Sankaranians have been called martyrs, in agreement with the declaration of the Kuran, but as they stirred up strife and revolted they were made examples of, and were put to death from political necessity.

In the year after his victory he conducted his army by way of Uch and Multan towards Nahrwala. The Rai of Nahrwala, Bhim-deo,⁴⁹ was a minor, but he had a

⁴⁸ Written also "Shankaran," and "Sanfaran."

¹⁹ The text has "Bhasu-deo," but some copies give the name correctly, "Bhim deo." See Firishta I. 179.

large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultan was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.).

In 575 H. (1179 A.D.) he attacked and conquered Farshawar (Peshawar) and two years afterwards he advanced to Lohor (Lahore). The power of the Ghaznivides was now drawing to its close and their glory was departed, so Khusru Malik sent his son as a hostage, and an elephant as a present to the Sultan. This was in the year 577 H. (1181 A.D.). Next year the Sultan marched to Dewal, subdued all that country to the sea shore, and returned with great spoil. In 580 H. (1184 A.D.) he went to Lahore, ravaged all the territories of that kingdom, and returned after building the fort of Sialkot, in which he placed Husain Kharmil as governor. When the Sultan was gone, Khusru Malik assembled the forces of Hindustan, and having also obtained a body of Kokhars (Gakkars) he laid siege to Sialkot, but, after some interval, was obliged to withdraw. The Sultan returned to Lahore in 581 H. (1185 A.D.).

The house of Mahmud had now come to its end; the sun of its glory was set, and the registrar of fate had written the mandate of its destruction. Khusru Malik could offer no resistance; he came forth peacefully to meet the Sultan, and was made prisoner. Lahore fell completely into the power of the Ghori prince, and he secured all its dominions in Hindustan.

'Ali Karmakh, chief of Multan, was appointed commander at Lahore, and the father of the writer of this book, Maulana 'Ajubatu-z Zaman Afsahu-l 'Ajam Siraju-d din Minhaj, was appointed Kazi of the army of Hindustan, and received the honour of investiture from Mu'izzu-d din. He held his Court at the head quarters of the army, and twelve camels were assigned for moving from place to place his Bench of Justice.

The Sultan returned to Ghazni carrying Khusru

Malik with him and on arriving there he sent him on to Firoz-koh to the Court of the great king Ghiyasu-d din. This monarch sent him prisoner to the fort of Bahrawan, and confined his son Bahram Shah in the fort of Saifrud.⁵⁰ When the war with Khwarizm Shah broke out in the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.) Khusru Malik and

his son were put to death.51

The victorious Sultan then prepared another army, with which he attacked and conquered the fort of Sarhind. This fort he placed under the command of Ziau-d din Kazi Tolak, (son of) Muhammad 'Abdu-s Salam Nasawi Tolaki. This Kazi Ziau-d din was cousin (son of the uncle) of the author's maternal grand-father. At the request of the Kazi, Majdu-d din Tolaki selected 1200 men of the tribe of Tolaki, and placed them all under his command in the fort so as to enable him to hold it until the return of the Sultan from Ghazni.

Rai Kolah Pithaura came up against the fort and the Sultan returned and faced him at Narain.⁵² All the Rais of Hindustan were with the Rai Kolah. The battle was formed and the Sultan seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Govind Rai of Dehli. The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle, and then the Sultan, who was a second Rustam, and the Lion of the Age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rai and knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth

50" Sankaran," in some copies.

51 The text does not say by whom.

as Narain and says it was afterwards called Tirauri. He places it on the banks of the Sarsuti, 14 miles from Thanesar and 80 from Dehli, but according to Gen. Cunningham the battlefield of Narain is on the banks of the Rakshi river four miles south west of Tirauri and ten miles the north of Karna. Tirauri is also called Azimabad. See Elphinstone, p. 363.

down his throat. The Rai on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a servere wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultan reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horseback. The Musulman army gave way and could not be controlled. The Sultan was just falling when a sharp and brave young Khilji recognized him, jumped upon the horse behind him and clasping him round the bosom, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight.

When the Musulmans lost sight of the Sultan, a panic fell upon them; they fled and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors. A party of nobles and youths of Ghor had seen and recognized their leader with that lion-hearted Khilji, and when he came up they drew together, and, forming a kind of litter with broken lances, they bore him to the halting-place. The hearts of the troops were consoled by his appearance, and the Muhammadan faith gathered new strength in his life. He collected the scattered forces and retreated to the territories of Islam, leaving Kazi Tolak in the fort of Sarhind. Rai Pithaura advanced and invested the fort which he besieged for thirteen months.

Next year the Sultan assembled another army, and advanced to Hindustan to avenge his defeat. A trust-worthy person named Muinu-d din, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army and that its force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultan could arrive, the fort of Sarhind had capitulated, and the enemy were encamped in the vicinity of Narain. The Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The

light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them and they fled.

Pithaura alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and galloped off, but he was captured near Sarsuti⁵³ and sent to hell. Gobind Rai, of Dehli, was killed in the battle, and the Sultan recognized his head by the two teeth which he had broken. The capital, Ajmir, and all the Siwalik hills, Hansi, Sarsuti, and other districts were the results of this victory, which was gained

in the year 588 H. (1192 A.D.).

On his return homewards the Sultan placed Kutbu-d din in command of the fort of Kahram, and in the same year this chief advancing to Mirat conquered that town, and took possession of Dehli. In the following year he captured the fort of Kol. The Sultan came back from Ghazni in the year 590 (1193 A.D.) by way of Benares and Kanauj,⁵⁴ defeated Rai Jai Chandar, in the neighbourhood of Chandawah and captured over 300 elephants in the battle.

Under the rule of this just king victory followed the standards of his slave Kutbu-d din Aibak, so that the countries of Nahrawala and Bhangar, the forts of Gwalior and Badaun, and other parts of Hindustan were conquered. But these victories will be related more in

14 The author's knowledge of geography is evidently at fault. Firishta says the battle was fought "between

Chandwar and Etawa."

Nuru-l Hakk and others. Firishta says "Sarsuti." Briggs. 1. 177.

detail hereafter, in describing the victories of Kutbu-d din.

Sultan Sa'id Ghiyasu-d din died at Hirat, when his brother Sultan Muizzu-d din was between Tus and Sarakhs in Khurasan, but the latter returned and secured his succession to the throne.

(Proceedings west of the Indus).

A rebellion had broken out among the Kokhars (Gakkars), and the tribes of the hills of Jud, and in the winter the Sultan went to Hindustan to put down the revolt. He defeated the rebels and made their blood to flow in streams, but as he was returning home to Ghazni he fell into the hands of these infidels, and was put to death in the year 602 H. (1206 A.D.) The period of his reign was thirty-two years. (Detailed lists are given of his judges, relations, generals, victories, and of his). Slaves who attained royalty: Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz, Sultan Nasiru-d din Kubacha, Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh, Sultan Kutbu-d din Aibak.

TABAKAT XX

THE MU'IZZIYA SULTANS OF HIND

(Page 137 to 165 of the Printed text)

This chapter is devoted to the history of those kings who were the slaves and servants of the Sultan Ghazi Mu'izz-d din Muhammad Sam, and sat upon the throne of royalty in the country of Hindustan. The throne of that king descended to them, as he had designed and as is mentioned above. They adorned their heads with the crown of royalty which had belonged to that king, and the influence of the light of Muhammadanism was preserved through their power over the different parts and provinces of Hindustan.

1.—SULTAN KUTBU-D DIN AIBAK55

Sultan Kutbu-d din, the second Hatim, was a brave and liberal king. The Almighty had bestowed on him such courage and generosity that in his time there was no king like him from the east to the west. When the Almighty God wishes to exhibit to his people an example of greatness and majesty he endows one of his slaves with the qualities of courage and generosity and then friends and enemies are influenced by his bounteous generosity and warlike prowess. So this king was generous and brave, and all the regions of Hindustan were filled with friends and cleared of foes. His bounty was continuous and his slaughter was continuous.

When Sultan Kutbu-d din was first brought from Turkistan, his lot fell in the city of Naishapur, where he was bought by the chief Kazi, Fakhru-d din 'Abdu-l 'Aziz of Kufa, who was one of the decendants of the great Imam Abu Hanifa of Kufa. This Kazi was governor of Naishapur and its dependencies. Kutbu-d din grew up in the service and society of his master's sons, and with them he learned to read the Kuran, and also acquired the arts of riding and archery. In a short time he became remarkable for his manly qualities. When he had nearly arrived at the age of manhood, merchants brought him to Ghaznin and the Sultan Ghazi Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam purchased him from them. He was possessed of every quality and virtue, but he was not comely in appearance. His little finger⁵⁶ was broken from his hand, and he was therefore called Aibak, "maimed in the hand."57

⁵⁵ This name is written "ai-bak" in the inscriptions of the Kuth-minar at Dehli. Thomas reads it "Ai-beg."—Thomas, Prinsep I. 327. The Araish-i Mahfil "Ipak."

^{56 (&}quot;Khinsar," little or middle finger.).
57 ("Shal," is the Persian word used as the expla-

Sultan Mu'izzu-d din used occasionally to indulge in music and conviviality, and one night he had a party, and in the course of the banquet he graciously bestowed gifts of money and of uncoined gold and silver upon his servants. Kutbu-d din received his share among the rest, but whatever he got, either gold or silver, coined or uncoined, he gave it all, when he went out of the assembly, to the Turki soldiers, guards, farashes and other servants. He kept nothing, either small or great, for himself. Next day when this was reported to the king, he was looked upon with great favour and condescension, and was appointed to some important duties about the Court. He thus became a great officer, and his rank grew higher every day, until by the king's favour he was appointed Master of the Horse. While he held this station, the kings of Ghor, Ghaznin, and Bamian went towards Khurasan, Kutbu-d din showed great activity in repelling the attacks of Sultan Shah. He held the command of the foragers, and one day while in quest of forage, he was unexpectedly attacked by the cavalry of the enemy. Kutbu-d din showed great bravery in the fight which ensued but his party was small, so he was overpowered, made prisoner, and carried to Sultan Shah. This prince ordered him into confinement, but when the battle was fought, and Sultan Shah was defeated, the victors released Kutbu-d din and brought him in his iron fetters, riding on a camel, to his Master Sultan Mu'izzu-d din. The Sultan received him kindly, and on his arrival at his capital Ghaznin, he conferred on him the districts of Kahram. From thence, he went to Mirat, of which he took possession in A.H. 587 (1191 A.D.). In the same year he marched from Mirat and captured Dehli.

nation of "Aibak." But the statement of the text cannot be correct, as the name Aibak frequently occurs and must be the name of a tribe, not a nickname.) In A.H. 590 (1194 A.D.) he and 'Izzu-d din Husain Kharmil, both being generals of the army accompanied the Sultan and defeated Rai Jai Chand of Benares in the nieghbourhood of Chandawal. In the year 591 H (1195 A.D.) Thankar was conquered; and in 593 H. (1197 A.D.) he went towards Nahrawala, defeated Rai Bhim-deo, and took revenge on the part of the Sultan. He also took other countries of Hindustan as far as the outskirts of the dominions of China on the east. Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji had subdued the districts of Bihar and Nudiya⁵⁸ in those quarters, as will be related hereafter in the history of that general.

When Sultan-i Ghazi Muhammad Sam died, Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Mahmud Muhammad Sam, his nephew, gave Kutbu-d din the royal canopy and the title of Sultan. In A.H. 602 (1205 A.D.) the new monarch marched from Dehli to attack Lohor, and on Tuesday, the 18th of the month of Zi-l Kada in the same year (June 1206) he mounted the throne in that city. After some time a dispute arose between him and Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz respecting Lohor, and it ended in a battle, in which the victory was gained by Sultan Kutbu-d din. Taju-d din fled. Sultan Kutbu-d din then proceeded towards Ghaznin, which he captured and for forty days he sat upon the throne of that city, at the end of which time he returned to Dehli, as has been before mentioned. Death now claimed his own, and in the year 607 H. the Sultan fell from his horse in the field while he was playing chaugan, and the horse came down upon him, so that the pommel of the saddle entered his chest and killed him. The period of his government from his first conquest of Dehli up to this time, was twenty years, and the time of his reign, during which he wore the crown, and had the Kutba read and coin struck in his name, was something more than four years.

2. ARAM SHAH, SON OF SULTAN KUTBU-D DIN AIBAK

On the death of Sultan Kutbu-d din, the nobles and princes of Hindustan deemed it advisable for the satisfaction of the army, the peace of the people, and the tranquillity of the country, to place Aram Shah upon the throne. Sultan Kutbu-d din had three daughters of whom the two eldest were, one after the death of the other, married to Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha, and the third to Sultan Shamsu-d din. Now that Kutbu-d din was dead, and Aram Shah was raised to the throne, Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha marched towards Uch and Multan. Kutbu-d din had regarded Sultan Shamsu-d din as well suited for empire, had called him his son, and had given him Badaun in Jagir. The chief men of Dehli now invited him from Badaun and raised him to the throne. He espoused the daughter of Sultan Kutbu-d din.

When Aram Shah expired, Hindustan was divided into four principalities. The province of Sind was possessed by Nasiru-d din Kubacha; Dehli and its environs belonged to Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din; the districts of Lakhnauti were held by the Khilji chiefs and Sultans, and the province of Lohor was held sometimes by Malik Taju-d din, sometimes by Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha, and sometimes by Sultan Shamsu-d din. An account of

each will be given hereafter.

3. NASIRU-D DIN KUBACHA

Malik Nasiru-d din was an excellent monarch, and was a slave of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din. He was a man of the highest intelligence, cleverness, experience, discretion, and acumen. He had served Sultan-i Ghazi Mu'izzu-d din for many years in all kinds of offices and positions, and he was well acquainted with all matters, small and great, concerning courts, and military and civil affairs. He obtained Uch and Multan, which were ruled by Malik Nasiru-d din Aitamur. 59 In the battle of And-

⁵⁹ (This sentence is defective and ambiguous).

khod60 which Sultan Mu'izzu-d din fought with the armies of Khita and the princes of Turkistan, Nasiru-d din had displayed great valour by the stirrups of the Sultan, where he fought desperately, and sent many of the infidels to hell. The warriors of the army of Khita were distressed by the slaughter which he dealt around, so they all at once came upon him and thus he was over-powered.61 The Sultan Ghazi through this event, came safely to the throne of Ghaznin, and the town of Uch was assigned to Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha. He married two daughters of Sultan Kutbu-d din; by the first he had a son. Malik 'Alau-d din Bahram Shah, who was handsome and of amiable character, but he was addicted to pleasure, and gave way to his youthful passions. When Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha, after the death of Sultan Kutubu-d din, went to Uch, he took the city of Multan; and Hindustan, Dewal, and all as far as the sea shore, fell into his power. He also took the forts, towns, and cities of the territory of Sind, and assumed regal dignity. He extended his rule to Tabar-hindh,62 Kahram, and

[&]quot;Andkho" as in the translation of Firishta, which is followed by Elphinstone and the maps. The text of Firishta has "Andkhod," and this is the spelling of Ibn Haukal, Yakut, and the geographers generally. Yakut says the "ethnic name is Ankhudi," and Gen. Cunningham proposes to identify it with the "Alikodra," of Ptolemy).

or "was slain.")

is the same as Sarhindh, but from this point onwards the name is most persistently written "Tabarhindh," although the name "Sarhindh," has been used previously. It may be a blunder of the copyist, but on the other hand, it may be another and older form of the name. The

Sarsuti. He took Lohor several times, and fought a battle with the army of Ghaznin which had come there on the part of Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz; but he was defeated by Khwaja Muwaidu-l Mulk Sanjari, who was minister of the king of Ghaznin. He still maintained possession of the territory of Sind. During the struggles with the infidels of Chin, many chiefs of Khurasan, Ghor, and Ghaznin joined him, and upon all his associates he bestowed great favours and honours. There was continual variance between him and Sultan Sa'id Shams.

When the battle between Jalalu-d din Khwarizm Shah and Changiz Khan was fought on the banks of the Indus, Jalalu-d din came into Sind and went towards Dewal and Makran. After the victory of Nandua-tari the Moghal prince came with a large army to the walls of the city of Multan and besieged that strong fort for forty days. During this war and invasion Malik Nasiru-d din opened his treasures and lavished them munificently among the people. He gave such proofs of resolution, energy, wisdom, and personal bravery, that it will remain on record to the day of resurrection. This Moghal invasion took place in the year 621 H. (1224 A.D.). One year and six months after, the chiefs of Ghor through the irruption of the infidels, joined Nasiru-d din. Towards the end of the year 623 H. (1226 A.D.) the army of Khilj, consisting of all the forces of Khwarizm, under the command of Malik Khan Khilj, invaded the lands of Mansura, one of the cities of Siwistan. Malik Nasiru-d din marched to expel them, and a battle ensued in which the army of Khilj was defeated and the Khan of Khilj was slain. Malik Nasiru-d din then returned to Multan and Uch.

In this same year, the compiler of these leaves, Siraj Minhaj, came from the country of Khurasan,

etymology of the word Sarhindh is doubtful, and has been a subject of speculation.—See Thronton.)

via Ghaznin and Mithan, and thence reached Uch by boat, on Tuesday, the 26th of the month of Jumada-l awwal A.H. 624 (April, 1227 A.D.). In the month of Zi-l hijja of the same year, the Firozi college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author. On the provocation of the army of 'Alau-d din Bahram Shah, in the month of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 624 Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din encamped in sight of Uch. Malik Nasiru-d din fled by water towards Bhakkar, and the army of the Sultan, under the command of the Minister of State, Nizamu-l Mulk, pursued him and besieged him in that fort. The Sultan remained two months and twenty-seven days before Uch, and on Tuesday the 27th of Jumada-l awwal the fort was taken. When the news of this conquest reached Malik Nasiru-d din, he sent his son, 'Alau-d din Bahram Shah to wait upon the Sultan; but as he reached the camp on the 22nd of Jumada-I akhir, the news of the conquest of Bhakkar arrived. Malik Nasiru-d din drowned himself in the river Sind and thus ended his life. He reigned in the territory of Sind, Uch, and Multan for twenty-two years.

4. SULTAN BAHAU-D DIN TUGHRIL

Malik Bahau-d din Tughril was a man of kindly disposition, just, charitable, and polite. He was one of the oldest servants of Sultan Ghazi Muizzu-d din, who with his favour had made him a great man. When the Sultan conquered the fort of Thankar⁶³ in the country of Bhayana⁶⁴ after fighting with the Rai, he consigned it to Bahau-d din and he so improved the condition of the country that merchants and men of credit came thither from all parts of Hindustan and Khurasan. He gave all of them houses and goods, and also made them mas-

61 (Bayana or Biana, fifty miles S.W. of Agra.)

^{63 (&}quot;Bhankar" or "Bhangar" in other places. A note in the text gives the preference to Thankar, but no reason is assigned.)

ters of landed property, so that they settled there. As he and his army did not like to reside in the fort of Thankar, he founded the city of Sultan-kot65 in the territory of Bhayana and made it the place of his residence. From this place he constantly sent his horsemen towards Gwalior. When Sultan Ghazi retired from that fort he told Bahau-d din that he ought to secure it for himself. Upon this hint Bahau-d din posted a division of his army at the foot of the fort of Gwalior, and at two parasangs distance he constructed a fortification, where his cavalry might picket at night and return in the morning to the base of the rock. A year passed and the garrison being reduced to extremities sent messengers to Kutbu-d din and surrendered the fort to him. There was a little misunderstanding between Bahau-d din and Sultan Kutbu-d din. Malik Bahau-d din Tughril was a man of excellent qualities, and he has left many marks of his goodness in the territory of Bhayana.

5. MALIK GHAZI IKHTIYARU-D DIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYAR KHILJI, OF LAKHNAUTI

It is related that this Muhammad Bakhtiyar was a Khilji, of Ghor, of the province of Garmsir. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise and experienced man. He left his tribe and came to the Court of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din, at Ghaznin, and was placed in the diwan-i 'arz (office for petitions), but as the chief of that department was not satisfied with him he was dismissed, and proceeded from Ghaznin to Hindustan. When he reached the Court of Dehli, he was again rejected by the chief of the diwan-i 'arz of the city⁶⁶ and so he went

65 (See Firishta I. 195. A note in the text says, "Sialkot," but this is impossible.)

^{66 (}Here there is a variation in the text for four or five lines, but the reading adopted seems the most intelligible and consistent. See printed text p. 146).

on to Badaun, into the service of Hizbaru-d din Hasan, commander-in-Chief, where he obtained a suitable position. After some time he went to Oudh in the service of Malik Hisamu-d din Ughlabak. He had good horses and arms, and he had showed much activity and valour at many places, so he obtained Sahlat and Sahli⁶⁷ in Jagir. Being a bold and enterprising man, he used to make incursions into the districts of Munir (Monghir), and Behar, and bring away much plunder, until in this manner he obtained plenty of horses, arms, and men. The fame of his bravery and of his plundering raids spread abroad, and a body of Khiljis joined him from Hindustan. His exploits were reported to Sultan Kutbu-d din, and he sent him a dress and showed him great honour. Being thus encouraged, he led his army to Bchar and ravaged it. In this manner he continued for a year or two to plunder the neighbourhood, and at last prepared to invade the country.

It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the fort of Behar with only two hundred horse, and began the war by taking the enemy unawares. In the service of Bakhtiyar there were two brothers of great intelligence. One of them was named Nizamu-d din and the other Shamsu-d din. The compiler of this book met Samsu-d din at Lakhnauti in the year 641 H. (1243 A.D.) and heard the following story from him. When Bakhtivar reached the gate of the fort, and fighting began, these two wise brothers were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some per-

^{67 (}Var. "Salmat", "Sanlast.").

sons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (madrasa). In the Hindi language

the word Behar (vihar) means a college.

When this conquest was achieved, Bakhtiyar returned laden with plunder, and came to Kutbu-d din, who paid him much honour and respect. A body of the nobles of the Court looked upon the favours which Sultan Kutbu-d din bestowed upon him, with jealousy. In their convivial parties they used to sneer at him, and to cast jibes and ironical observations at him. Their animosity reached to such a pitch that he was ordered to combat with an elephant at the White Palace. He struck it such a blow with his battle axe on the trunk that it ran away and he pursued it. On achieving this triumph. Sultan Kutbu-d din bestowed rich gifts upon him from his own royal treasure, and he also ordered his nobles to present to him such ample offerings as can scarcely be detailed. Muhammad Bakhtiyar in that very meeting scattered all those gifts and gave them away to the people. After receiving a robe from the Sultan he returned to Behar. Great fear of him prevailed in the minds of the infidels of the territories of Lakhnauti, Behar, Bang (Bengal) and Kamrup.

It is related by credible authorities that mention of the brave deeds and conquests of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar was made before Rai Lakhmaniya, whose capital was the city of Nudiya. He was a great Rai, and had sat upon the throne for a period of eighty years.

A story about that Rai may be here related:-

When the father of the Rai departed this world, he was in the womb of his mother, so the crown was placed upon her belly, all the great men expressed their loyalty before her. His family was respected by all the Rais or chiefs of Hindustan, and was considered to hold the rank of Khalif, or sovereign. When the time of the birth of Lakhmaniya drew near, and symptoms of deli-

very appeared, his mother assembled the astrologers and Brahmans, in order that they might see if the aspect of the time was auspicious. They all unanimously said that if the child were born at that moment it would be exceedingly unlucky, for he would not become a sovereign. But that if the birth occurred two hours later the child would reign for eighty years. When his mother heard this opinion of the astrologers she ordered her legs to be tied together, and caused herself to be hung with her head downwards. She also directed the astrologers to watch for the auspicious time. When they all agreed that the time for delivery was come, she ordered herself to be taken down, and Lakhmaniya was born directly, but he had no sooner come into the world than his mother died from the anguish she had endured. Lakhmaniya was placed upon the throne, and he ruled for eighty years. It is said by trustworthy persons that no one, great or small, ever suffered injustice at his hands. He used to give a lac to every person that asked him for charity; as was also the custom of the generous Sultan, the Hatim of the time, Kutbu-d din. In that country the current money is kaudas (kauris) instead of chitals68 and the smallest present he made was a lac of kaudas.

Let us return to the history of Muhammad Bakhti-yar. When he came back from his visit to Sultan Kutbu-d din and conquered Behar, his fame reached the ears of Rai Lakhmaniya and spread throughout all parts of the Rai's dominions. A body of astrologers, Brahmans, and wise men of the kingdom, came to the Rai and represented to him that in their books the old Brahmans had written that the country would eventually fall into the hands of the Turks. The time appointed was approaching; the Turks had already taken Behar, and next year they would also attack his coun-

^{68 (}See Thomas, Jour. R.A.S. New Series II. 165).

try; it was therefore advisable that the Rai should make peace with them, so that all the people might emigrate from the territory and save themselves from contention with the Turks. The Rai asked whether the man who was to conquer the country was described as having any peculiarity in his person. They replied, Yes; the peculiarity is, that in standing upright both his hands hang down below the knees, so that his fingers touch his shins.69 The Rai observed that it was best for him to send some confidential agents to make enquiry about that peculiarity. Accordingly confidential agents were despatched, an examination was made, and the peculiarity was found in the person of Muhammad Bakhtiyar. When this was ascertained to be the fact, most of the Brahmans and many chiefs (sahan) went away to the country of Sanknat,70 and to the cities of Bang and Kamrup, but Rai Lakhmaniya did not like to leave his territory.

Next year Muhammad Bakhtiyar prepared an army, and marched from Behar. He suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiya with only eighteen horsemen, the remainder of his army was left to tollow. Muhammad Bakhtiyar did not molest any man, but went on peaceably and without ostentation, so that no one could suspect who he was. The people rather thought that he was a merchant, who had brought horses for sale. In this manner he reached the gate of Rai Lakhmaniya's palace, when he drew his sword and commanded the attack. At this time the Rai was at his dinner and golden and silver dishes filled with food were placed before him according to the usual custom. All of a sudden a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before he had ascertained what had occurred,

^{69 (}An old Hindu idea of the figure of a hero.)
70 (Var. "Sankat" and "Saknat"; query "Jagganath." See below).

Muhammad Bakhtiyar had rushed into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Rai fled barefooted by the rear of the palace and his whole treasure, and all his wives, maid servants, attendants, and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken, and such booty was obtained by the Muhammadans as is beyond all compute When his army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection and he fixed his head quarters there.

Rai Lakhmaniya went towards Sanknat71 and Bengal, where he died. His sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bengal. When Muhammad Bakhtivar had taken possession of the Rai's territory, he destroved the city of Nudiva and established the seat of his government at Lakhnauti. He brought the surrounding places into his possession, and caused his name to be read in the Khutba and struck on the coins. Mosques, colleges, and monasteries were raised everywhere by the generous efforts of him and his officers, and he sent a

great portion of the spoil to Sultan Kutbu-d din.

When several years had elapsed he received information about the territories of Turkistan and Tibet, to the east of Lakhnauti, and he began to entertain a desire of taking Tibet and Turkistan. For this purpose he prepared an army of about ten thousand horse. Among the hills which lie between Tibet and the territory of Lakhnauti, there are three races of people. The one is called Kuch (Kuch Behar) the second Mich, and the third, Tiharu.72 They all have Turki features and speak different languages, something between the language of Hind and that of Tibet. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kuch and Mich, who was called 'Ali Mich

^{71 (}Stewart in his "History of Bengal" says Jagganath.)

^{12 (}Stewart gives the names "Koonch. Mikeh, (or Mickh) and Neharu."-"History of Bengal", p. 46).

had been converted to Muhammadanism by Muhhammad Bakhtiyar, and this man agreed to conduct him into the hills. He led him to a place where there was a city called Mardhan-kot.73 It is said that in the ancient times -when Gurshasp Shah returned from China, he came to Kamrud (Kamrup) and built this city. Before the town there runs a stream which is exceedingly large. It is called Bangamati.74 When it enters the country of Hindustan it receives in the Hindi language the name of Samundar. In length, breadth, and depth, it is three times greater than Ganges. Muhammad Bakhtiyar came to the banks of this river, and 'Ali Mich went before the Muhammadan army. For ten days they marched on until he led them along the upper course of the river into the hills, to a place where from old times a bridge had stood over the water having about twenty (bist o and) arches of stone. When the army reached the bridge, Bakhtiyar posted there two officers, one a Turk, and the other a Khilji, with a large force to secure the place till his return. With the remainder of the army he then went over the bridge. The Rai of Kamrup, on receiving intelligence of the passage of the Muhammadans, sent some confidential officers to warn Bakhtiyar against invading the country of Tibet, and to assure him that he had better return and make more suitable preparations. He also added that he, the Rai of Kamrup, had determined that next year he also would muster his forces and precede the Muhammadan army to secure the country. Muhammad Bakhtiyar paid no heed to these representations, but marched on towards the hills of Tibet.

One night in the year 641 (1243 A.D.) he halted at

of its course.)

^{73 (}Var. "Bardhan, Dardhan." Stewart has "Burdehun or Murdehun.")

a place between Deo-kot and Bangawan, and stayed as a guest in the house of Mu'atamadu-d daula, who had formerly been an equerry in the service of Muhammad Bakhtiyar and had lived in the town of Lakhnauti. From this man he heard that after passing over the bridge, the road lay for fifteen stages through the defiles and passes of the mountains, and at the sixteenth stage level land was reached. The whole of that land was well populated, and the villages were flourishing. The village which was first reached had a fort, and when the Muhammadan army made an attack upon it, the people in the fort and the surrounding places came to oppose them, and a battle ensued. The fight raged from morning till the time of afternoon prayer, and large numbers of the Muhammadans were slain and wounded. The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears; and their armour, shields and helmets consisted only of raw silk strongly fastened and sewed together. They all carried long bows and arrows. When night came on, the prisoners who had been taken were brought forward and questioned, and it was then ascertained that at five parasangs from that place there was a city called Karamabatan75 and in it there was about three hundred and fifty thousand brave Turks armed with bows. The moment the horsemen of the Muhammadans arrived, messengers went to report their approach, and these messengers would reach their destination next morning. When the author was at Lakhnauti, he made enquiries about that place, and learnt that it was a pretty large city. The ramparts of it are built of stone. The inhabitants of it are Brahmans and Nunis76 and the city is under the sway of the

^{75 (}Var. "Karam-bain," "Laram-bain." Stewart has "Kurmputtun").
76 ("Nuniyan," var. "Tuniyan.")

chief of these people. They profess the Buddhist⁷⁷ religion. Every morning in the market of that city, about fifteen hundred horses are sold. All the saddle horses⁷⁸ which come into the territory of Lakhnauti are brought from that country. Their roads pass through the ravines of the mountains, as is quite common in that part of the country. Between Kamrup and Tibet there are thirty-five mountain passes through which horses are brought to Lakhnauti.

In short, when Muhammad Bakhtiyar became aware of the nature of the country, and saw that his men were tired and exhausted, and that many had been slain and disabled in the first day's march, he consulted with his nobles, and they resolved that it was advisable to retreat, that in the following year they might return to the country in a state of greater preparation. On their way back there was not left on all the road a single blade of grass or a bit of wood. All had been set on fire and burnt. The inhabitants of the valleys and passes had all removed far away from the road, and for the space of fifteen days not a sir of food nor a blade of grass or fodder was to be found, and they were compelled to kill and eat their horses.

When, after descending the hills of the land of Kamrup, they reached the bridge, they found that the arches of it had been demolished. The two officers who had been left to guard it had quarrelled, and in their animosity to each other had neglected to take

78 ("Asp-i tank-bastah." Stewart reads "Tanghan,"

which is probably right.

aries, means Christianity or Fire-worship. It is not likely that either can be intended here though Stewart in his "Hist. of Bengal" says "their prince was a Christian." The term is probably applied to any established religion other than Muhammadanism.)

care of the bridge and the road, so the Hindus of Kamrup had come there and destroyed the bridge. When Muhammad Bakhtiyar with his army reached the place, he found no means of crossing. Neither was there a boat to be found, so he was greatly troubled and perplexed. They resolved to fix on some place where to encamp, and prepare rafts and boats to enable them to cross the river.

In the vicinity of this place was perceived a temple, very lofty and strong, and of beautiful structure. In it there were numerous idols of gold and silver, and one very large golden idol, which exceeded two or three thousand miskals in weight. Muhammad Bakhtiyar and the remnant of his army sought refuge in that temple and set about procuring wood and ropes for constructing rafts to cross the stream. The Rai of Kamrup was informed of the distress and weakness of the Muhammadans and he issued orders to all the Hindus of his territory to come up, levy after levy, and all around the temple they were to stick their bamboo spears in the ground and to plait them together so as to form a kind of wall. When the soldiers of Islam saw this they told Muhammad Bakhtiyar that if they remained passive they would all be taken in the trap of the infidels and be made prisoners; some way of escape must be sought out. By common consent they made a simultaneous sally, and directing their efforts to one spot, they cleared for themselves a way through the dangerous obstacle to the open ground. The Hindus pursued them to the banks of the river and halted there. Every one exerted his ingenuity to devise some means of passing over the river. One of the soldiers urged his horse into the water, and it was found fordable to the distance of a bow-shot. A cry arose in the army that a fordable passage was found, and all threw themselves into the stream. The Hindus in their rear took possession of the banks. When the Muhammadans reached the middle of the stream, the water was to be very deep, and they nearly all perished. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with some horse, to the number of about a hundred, more or less, crossed the river with the greatest difficulty but all the rest were drowned.

When Muhammad Bakhtiyar escaped from this watery grave, the intelligence of it reached the people of Kuch and Mich. 'Ali Mich, the guide, sent his relatives forward on the road to meet him, and received him with much kindness and hospitality. When Bakhtiyar reached Deokot he was seized by sickness, occasioned by excess of grief. He would never go out, because he felt ashamed to look on the wives and children of those who had perished. If ever he did ride out, all people, women and children, from their housetops and the streets, cried out cursing and abusing him. In this position the remark often fell from his tongue, "Has any misfortune befallen Sultan Ghazi Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam, that my fortune has turned so bad?" It was even so, for Sultan Ghazi was killed about that time. Muhammad Bakhtiyar grew worse under his trouble, took to his bed, and died. Some writers say that there was a chief under Muhammad Bakhtiyar, of the same tribe as himself, 'Ali Mardan Khilji by name. He was a very bold and dauntless man, and the district of Kuni had been assigned to him. When he heard of Bakhtiyar's sickness he came to Deokot, where Bakhtiyar was lying ill. Three days had elapsed since anyone had been admitted to see him, but 'Ali Mardan by some means got in to him, drew aside the sheet with which he was covered, and killed him with a knife. His death took place in A.H. 602 (1205 A.D.).

6. MALIK 'IZZU-D DIN MUHAMMAD SHIRAN KHILJI
It is related that Muhammad Shiran and Ahmad Iran
were two brothers, sons of a noble Khilji. They were
in the service of Muhammad Bakhtiyar, and when this

chief started on his campaign in Kamrup and Tibet, he sent Shiran and his brother Ahmad with detachments of his troops to Lakhnauti and Jajnagar. On the arrival of the news of the defeat and death of Bakhtiyar they returned from their stations, and came dutifully to Deokot. From that place he (Muhammad Shiran) went to Narkoti, which belonged to 'Ali Mardan, and seizing him in punishment of the crime he had committed, put him in prison under the charge of the Kotwal of the place, whose name was Baba Kotwal Isfahani. He then came back to Deokot and collected all the pobles. This Muhammad Shiran was a very active and high principled man.

When Muhammad Bakhtiyar sacked the city of Nudiya and defeated Rai Lakhmaniya, the soldiers, followers, and elephants of the Rai were dispersed, and the Muhammadans pursued and plundered them. Muhammad Shiran was three days absent from the camp on this pursuit, so that all the officers began to be apprehensive about him. After the third day, news was brought that Muhammad Shiran had captured eighteen or more elephants in a certain jungle, with their drivers, and alone by himself he was keeping them there. Horsemen were sent out to his assistance and all the elephants were brought in. In short, Muhammad Shiran was an energetic man, ready and full of expedients. When he returned, after taking 'Ali Mardan prisoner, as he was the chief of all the Khilji nobles, they all rendered him homage but each noble continued to rule over the districts which belonged to himself. 'Ali Mardan contrived to ingratiate himself with the Kotwal, and escaping from prison, he went to the Court of Dehli. Upon his representations Sultan Kutbu-d din sent Kaimaz⁷⁹ Rumi from Oude towards Lakhnauti, and in execution of the royal orders the Khilji chiefs

⁷⁹ Var. "Kanmaz," "Kimar."

were quieted. Hisamu-d din 'Auz Khilji, who had received the districts of Gangatori⁸⁰ from Muhammad Bakhtiyar, came to receive Kaimaz Rumi, and went with him to Deokot. Here Kaimaz transferred to him the districts of Deokot, and then returned. Muhammad Shiran and other Khilji chiefs having assembled, determined to attack Deokot, so Kaimaz came back from the middle of his journey and fought a battle with the Khilji chiefs, and Muhammad Shiran and the other Khiljis were defeated. Quarrels afterwards broke out among these chiefs in the neighbourhood of Makida⁸¹ and Mantus, and Muhammad Shiran was slain. His tomb is in that country.

7. MALIK 'ALAU-D DIN 'ALI MARDAN KHILJI

'Ali Mardan was very resolute, bold, and fearless. When he escaped from the prison at Narkoti, he came to Sultan Kutbu-d din, and with him went to Ghaznin, where he fell into the hands of the Turks of that place. It is related that one day as he was going to a hunting-ground with Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz, he said to one of the Khiliji nobles, who was called Salar-i Zafar (victorious general), "What would you say, if I were to kill Taju-d din Yalduz with one arrow, and to make you king on the spot." Zafar Khilji was a wise man, and he prevented him from committing the (crime). When he returned from the hunt Zafar gave him two horses and sent him. away. On reaching Hindustan, he waited upon Sultan Kutbu-d din and received much honour and favour. The province of Lakhnauti was conferred on him and he went to that place. When he had crossed the Kosi river, Hisamu-d din 'Auz Khilji came from Deo-kot to meet him. He then entered Deo-kot, assumed the reins of government, and brought all the territories under his rule. When Sultan Kutbu-d din died, 'Ali Mardan

⁸⁰ Var. "Kankori."

⁸¹ Var. Sakananda.

assumed royal state, and ordered his name to be read in the Khutba, under the title of Sultan 'Alau-d din. He was a cruel and sanguinary man. He sent his army in different directions and slew many Khilji chiefs. The Rais of the surrounding places grew apprehensive of him, and sent him presents and tribute. He began to issue orders to various parts of Hindustan, and to utter most extravagant vaunts before the assembly, and in open court he talked about the kings of Khurasan, Ghazni, and Ghor, and uttered the most useless absurdities. He even talked of sending his mandates to Ghaznin, Khurasan, and 'Irak requiring them to submit to his rule.

It is related that there was a merchant in that country who was reduced to poverty and had lost all his wealth. He requested a donation from 'Ali Mardan, and the king enquired what place he was a native of. He replied, Safahan (Ispahan). The king then ordered a farman to be written, granting to him Safahan as his jagir. Through dread of his great severity and harshness, no one dared to say that Safahan was not in his possession. If any person told him, when he made such grant, that the place was not his, he replied, "I shall take it." So he granted Safahan to that merchant, who was indigent and miserable. The great and wise persons of the place represented in behalf of the poor fellow, that he required money for the expenses of the journey and for the fitting out of an army to take possession of his grant of Ispahan. A large sum of money was accordingly ordered to be given to the merchant. To such a degree was the haughtiness and severity and false pride of 'Ali Mardan excited. Besides all this, he was a cruel man and a tyrant. The poor people, the peasants, and the army were all tired of his tyranny and cruelty. They had no way of escape but in rebellion. A number of Khilji chiefs combined against him and killed him. They then placed Hisamu-d, din 'Auz upon the throne.



The length of 'Ali Mardan's reign was two years, more or less.

8. MALIK HISAMU-D DIN 'AUZ KHILJI

Hisamu-d din 'Auz was a man of kindly disposition. He was a Khilji of Ghor. It is said that once upon a time he was driving a laden mule along the skirts of the hills of Ghor to a certain village, on his journey from the country of Zawulistan to the highlands called Pashaafroz. Two fakirs in religious garb came to him and asked him whether he carried any food on his mule. 'Auz Khilji replied that he did. He had with him some traveller's bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule and spread it before the darweshes. When they had eaten the food, he produced some water and held it in a vessel before them. The fakirs partook of the food and drank of the water which he presented; they began to talk with each other saying, "This man has rendered us a service, we must not let him lose by it." They turned their faces towards 'Auz Khilji and said, "O chief, go towards Hindustan; we give you the country as far as Muhammadanism has spread."

At this direction of the fakirs he returned from that spot, and palced his wife upon his mule, and took his way towards Hindustan. He joined Muhammad Bakhtiyar; and his fortune reached such a degree of success that his name was read in the Khutba and struck upon the coin throughout the territory of Lakhnauti. To him the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din was given. He made the city of Lakhnauti the seat of his government, and built a fort for his residence. People flocked to him from all quarters, for he was exceedingly good and possessed solid endowments, both external and internal. He was polite, brave, just and generous. During his reign, the army, and the people in general lived in tranquillity and comfort. All his nobles were greatly benefited by his gifts and bounty, and obtained immense

wealth. He left many fine monuments of his goodness behind him in the country. He raised public buildings and mosques. He gave stipends to learned men and to shaikhs and saiyids; he also bestowed property and goods upon other classes of the people. For instance, there was a descendant of the Imam of Firoz-koh, who was called Jalalu-d din, son of Jamalu-d din Ghaznawi. He came with a body of men from his native country to Hindustan in A.H. 608 (1211 A.D.). After some years he went back to Firoz-koh, taking immense wealth with him. On being asked how he obtained those riches, he said, that when he reached Hindustan he went to Dehli, and from thence he determined to proceed to Lakhnauti. When he reached that place the Almighty so favoured him that his name was mentioned in the Court of Ghiyasu-d din. That kind-hearted king awarded him from his treasure a large dishful of gold and silver tankas, worth about ten thousand silver tankas. He also ordered the chiefs, nobles and ministers to give something, and accordingly each one gave him some present, amounting in the whole to about three thousand pieces more, and at the time of his departure, five thousand pieces were added to what he had formerly received; so that the Imam-zada obtained eighteen thousand tankas through the favour of that Ghiyasu-d din Khilji, king of Lakhnauti.

When the writer of this book reached the territory of Lakhnauti in A.H. 641 (1243 A.D.) he witnessed the

charity of this king with his own eyes.

The territory of Lakhnauti consists of two parts, on opposite banks of the Ganges. That to the west is called Dal82 the city of Lakhnauti is on this side. The eastern side is called Barbanda83 and the city of Deo-kot is one

⁸² Var. "Azal."

⁸³ Var. "Barand."

that side. From Lakhnauti to the gates of Lakhnaur,81 and on the other side of the river as far as the city of Deo-kot, embankments (pul) have been raised, which extend for ten days' journey; the reason for this is that during the rains all that country is inundated and if there were no embankments people would have to go to different parts and places in boats. In his reign, the roads by means of these embankments became passable by all men. It is also said that when, after the death of Malik Nasiru-d din Mahmud, Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din came to the territory of Lakhnauti to repress the rebellion of Ikhtiyaru-d din, he noticed the charity of Ghiyasu-d din. Whenever afterwards he mentioned his name he used to call him Sultan, and it pleased him to say that, considering his great charity, no one ought to hesitate about giving him that title. Indeed he was a generous, just and good-natured man. All the territories of Lakhnauti, such as Jajnagar and the provinces of Bengal, Kamrup and Tirhut, used to send him offerings. The district of Lakhnaur submitted to him, and brought him elephants, furniture, and treasure in adundance, and he established his officers there.

Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din sent armies several times from Dehli, and having conquered the province of Behar he stationed his officers there. In 622 (1225 A.D.) he invaded Lakhnauti and Ghiyasu-d din advanced his boats up the stream to oppose him, but peace was made between them. Shamsu-d din accepted thirty-eight elephants, and treasure to the amount of eighty lacs. He ordered the Khutba to be read in his name. On his departure he gave Behar to Malik 'Alau-d din Jani. Ghiyasu-d din 'Auz came to Behar from Lakhnauti and took it, and acted tyrannically. At last in the year 624 (1227 A.D.) Malik Shahid Nasiru-d din Mahmud, son of

is right away from the river. (in Birbhum);" but Nagor

Sultan Shamsu-d din, having collected an army in Hindustan, and accompanied by 'Izzu-l Malik Jani, marched from Oude to Lakhnauti. At this time Ghiyasu-d din 'Auz had gone on an expedition to Bengal and Kamrup, and had left Lakhnauti stripped of defenders. Malik Nasiru-d din Mahmud captured the place, and when Ghiyasu-d din heard of its fall, he returned and fought a battle with the conquerer, but he and his officers were made prisoners. He was then killed, after a reign of twelve years.

TABAKAT XXI

HISTORY OF THE SHAMSIYA KINGS OF HINDUSTAN (Page 164 to page 228 of the Text)

1. Sultan Shamsu-d dunya wau-d din Abu-l Muzaffar Altamsh

It was destined from all eternity by the most high and holy God that the country of Hindustan should be placed under the protection of the great king, the light of the world and religion, Sultan Abu-l Muzaffar Altamsh. (The exordium goes on at some length in a similar inflated style of eulogy of the monarch and of

Dehli his capital).

It is related by credible persons that Sultan Shamsu-d din was chosen by the destiny of Providence in his early age from the tribes of Albari85 in Turkistan for the sovereignty of Islam and of the dominious of Hindustan. His father, whose name was Yalam Khan, had numerous dependents, relatives, and followers in his employ. The future monarch was from his childhood remarkable for beauty, intelligence, and grace, such as excited jealousy in the hearts of his brothers, so they enticed him away from his father and mother with the

pretence of going to see a drove of horses. His case was like that of Joseph: "They said, father, why dost thou not trust Joseph with us, for we are sincere friends to him? Send him with us in the morning, that he may amuse himself and sport, and we will take care of him." When they brought him to the drove of horses they sold him to the dealer. Some say that his sellers were his cousins. The horse-dealers took him to Bukhara, and sold him to one of the relations of the chief judge of that city. For some time he remained with that great and noble family, the chiefs of which nourished and educated him like a son.

A credible person has related, that he heard in the gracious words of the king himself, that on a certain occasion one of the members of the family gave him a piece of money and ordered him to go to the bazar and buy some grapes. He went to the bazar and on the way lost the piece of money. Being of tender age he began to cry for fear; and while he was weeping and crying a fakir came to him, took his hand, purchased some grapes and gave them to him saying: "When you obtain wealth and dominion take care that you show respect to fakirs and pious men, and maintain their rights." He gave his promise to the fakir, and whatever fortune and power he obtained he always ascribed to the favour shewn him by that fakir. It is firmly believed that no king so benevolent, so sympathising, and so respectful to the learned and to elders as he was, ever rose by his native energy to the cradle of empire.

From that noble and distinguished family, he was purchased by a merchant whose name was Haji Bukhari, and he sold him to another merchant named Jamalu-d din Chast Kaba, who brought him to Ghazni. No Turk equal to him in beauty, virtue, intelligence, and nobleness, had at that time been brought to that city. Mention of him was made before his majesty Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam, who ordered that

a price should be named for him. He was coupled with another Turk named Aibak, and a thousand dinars in refined gold was fixed as the price of each, but Jamalu-d din Chast Kaba demurred to sell him for this price, so the Sultan gave orders that nobody should purchase him. After this, Jamalu-d din Chast Kaba stayed one year in Ghazni, and then went to Bukhara, carrying the future Sultan with him. After stying there three years, he again brought him back to Ghazni; but no one, for fear of the king's orders, ventured to purchase. He had been there one year, when Kutbu-d din86 returned to Ghaznin with Malik Nasiru-d din Husain, after the invasion of Nahrwala and the conquest of Guzerat. He heard an account of Shamsu-d din, and asked the permission of Sultan Mu'izzu-d din to purchase him. The Sultan said that orders had been passed that he should. not be purchased in Ghazni but he might take him to Dehli and buy him there. Kutbu-d din consigned to Nizamu-d din Muhammad the management of the business, and ordered him to take Jamalu-d din Chast Kaba with him to Hindustan that he might purchase Shamsu-d din there. According to these directions, Nizamu-d din brought them to Dehli, and Kutbu-d din purchased him and the other slave for one lac of chitals. The other slave was a Turk, whose name was Aibak, but this was changed to Tamghaj,87 and he became chief of Tabarhindh. He was slain in the battle fought between Taju-d din Yalduz and Kutbu-d din. Altamsh was made chief of the guards. Kutbu-d din called him

the title of Sultan to the names of Kutbu-d din, Shamsu-d din, and others who eventually became kings; but, to avoid confusion this title has been omitted in passages relating to times anterior to their attainment of the regal dignity.

87"Toghan" in Firishta.

his son and kept him near his person. His rank and honour increased every day. Marks of intelligence were evident in all his actions, so he was elevated to the rank of Amir-shikar (chief huntsman). When Gwalior was taken he became amir of that place. After that he obtained the district and town of Baran and its dependencies. Some time after this when the proofs of his energy, barvery, and heroism were fully displayed, and had been witnessed by Kutbu-d din, the country of Badaun was entrusted to him. When Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Muhammad Sam returned from Khwarizm, after being defeated in the battle of Andkhod by the armies of Khita, the Kokhar (Gakkar) tribes broke out in rebellion, and the Sultan marched against them from Ghazni. Kutbu-d din, according to his orders, brought up an army from Hindustan, and Shamsu-d din accompanied him with the forces of Badaun. In the height of the battle Shamsu-d din rode into the stream of the Jailam, where that wretched rabble had taken refuge, and exhibited great barvery, galling the enemy so with his arrows that he overcame their resistance, and sent them from the tops of the waves into the depths of hell: "they drowned and entered the fires."

The Sultan in the midst of the battle observed his feats of daring and courage, and enquired who he was. When his majesty was enlightened upon this point he called him into his presence and honoured him with especial notice. Kutbu-d din was ordered to treat Altamsh well, as he was destined for great works. His majesty then ordered the deed of his freedom to be written out and graciously granted him his liberty.

When Sultan Kutbu-d din expired at Lahore, 88 the commander-in-chief, 'Ali Ismail who had charge of Dehli, joined with some other nobles, and principal men, and sent letters to Badaun inviting Shamsu-d din.

⁸⁸ The name is here invariably spelt "Lohor".

When he arrived he mounted the throne of Dehli in A.H. 607 (1210 A.D.) and established his authority. The Turks and the Mu'izzi chiefs assembled from all quarters in Dehli, but the Turks and Muizzi chiefs of that city did not join them. They resolved to try the effect of resistance, so they went out of Dehli, collected in the environs and raised the standard of revolt. Sultan Shamsu-d din marched out of Dehli with a body of horse and his own personal followers, defeated them in the plains of the Jumna and put most of their horsemen to the sword. Afterwards Sultan Taju-d din made a treaty with him from Lahore and Ghazni and sent him some insignia of royalty. Quarrels arose several times between Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh and Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha about Lahore(Tabarhindh, and Kahram; and in the year 614 (1217 A.D.) he defeated Kubacha. Hostilities also broke out at different times between him and the chiefs of various parts of Hindustan and the Turks, but as he was assisted by Divine favour, every one who resisted him or rebelled was subdued. Heaven still continued to favour him, and all the territories belonging to Dehli, Badaun, Oudh, Benares and the Siwalik hills came into his possession.

Sultan Taju-d din Yalduz having fled before the army of Khwarizm came to Lahore. A dispute arose between him and Sultan Shamsu-d din regarding the limits of their possessions, and a battle was fought between them at Narain in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215) in which the Sultan achieved the victory, and Taju-d din Yalduz was taken prisoner. He was brought, according to orders, to Dehli, and was sent to Badaun, where he was buried.⁸⁹

After this another battle was fought in the year

⁸⁹ The author is silent here as to his death, but in the memoir of Taju-d din he says that he was killed.

614 H. (1217 A.D.) with Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha,

and he was again defeated.

Great events now occured in Khurasan through the appearance of the Moghal Changiz Khan. In A.H. 615 (1218 A.D.) Jalalu-d din, king of Khwarizm, having fled from the army of the infidels came towards Hindustan, and some fighting followed on the frontiers of Lahore. Shamsu-d din led his forces out of Dehli towards Lahore, and Khwarizm Shah fled before the army of Hindustan and went towards Sind and Siwistan.

After this, in 622 H. (1225 A.D.), Sultan Shamsu-d din carried his arms towards Lakhnauti, and Ghiyasu-d din 'Auz Khilji placed the yoke of servitude on the neck of submission and presented thirty elephants and eighty lacs of the current coin. He also ordered the Khutba to be read and the coin to be struck in the name of

Shamsu-d din.

In A.H. 623 (1226 A.D.) he marched to conquer the fort of Ratambhor⁹⁰ which is celebrated in all parts of Hindustan for its great strength and security. It is related in the Hindu histories that it had been invaded by more than seventy (haftad o and) kings, and no one had been able to take it. In the space of a few months in the year 623, through the favour of God, the fort fell into the hands of Shamsu-d din. One year after this, A.H. 624, he attacked the fort of Mandur in the Siwalik hills⁹¹ there also God bestowed victory on him, and

or This name is spelt in many different ways. Here in the text we have "Rantampor." It also occurs as "Rinthambor," "Runtamboor," etc. Colebrooke derives the name from the Sanskrit "Rana-sthamba-bhramara," "the bee of the pillar of war." Trans. R.As.Soc. I. 143.

⁹¹Briggs in the translation of Firishta says, "Mando and the country of Malwa; and this statement has been adopted by Eliphinstone. It is manifestly wrong, and there is no warrant for it in the text of Firishta, which much plunder fell into the hands of his followers. After another year, in A.H. 625 (1228 A.D.), an army was sent from Dehli towards the cities of Uch and Multan. The author of this book, Minhaj Siraj, had come from Ghor and Khurasan to Sind, Uch, and Multan, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 624. On the first of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 625 (1228 Feb.) Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din reaches the foot of the fort of Uch. Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha had pitched his camp at the gate of the fort of Amrawat⁹² and all his followers and baggage were in ships and boats moored in front of the camp.

On Friday, after the time of prayer, some swift runners came from the direction of Multan and reported that Malik Nasiru-d din Aitamur had been detached from Lahore and had come to the fort of Multan; also that Sultan Shamsu-d din himself was marching towards Uch via Tabarhindh. Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha fled with all his army in boats to Bhakkar, and ordered his minister, 'Ainu-l Mulk Husain Ashghari. to remove all

the treasure from the fort of Uch to Bhakkar.

Sultan Shamsu-d din sent two of his principal generals in advance with an army to the walls of Uch. One of these was Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salar, lord chamberlain, and the other was Kazlak Khan Sanjar Sultani. chief of the Tabarhindh. Four days after, the Sultan himself arrived at Uch wiith all his elephants and baggage, and pitched his tents there. He sent his minister. Nizamu-d din Muhammad Junaidi, with other nobles, in pursuit of Malik Nasiru-d din to the fort of Bhakkar. Fighting continued for one month under the walls of Uch, and on Tuesday, the 29th of

fully agrees with the statement of our author. The true version of Firishta's words is "He marched to the fort of Mandur, which fort, with all the Siwalik hills, he reduced."

⁹² Var. "Amrut, Ahrut."

Jumada-l akhir A. H. 625 (May, 1228), the place capitulated. In the same month Malik Nasiru-d din Kubacha drowned himself at the fort of Bhakkar in the waters of the Indus, having a few days before sent his son, Malik 'Alau-d din Bahram Shah to wait upon Sultan Shamsu-d din. After a few days the treasures were taken possession of, and the remaining forces of Malik Nasiru-d din entered into the service of the conqueror. All that country down to the sea shore was subdued. Malik Sinanu-d din Habsh, chief of Dewal and Sind, came and did homage to the Sultan. When the noble mind of the king was satisfied with the conquest of the country, he returned to Dehli.

The writer of this book had obtained an audience at the Court of that great and religious king on the first day his camp was pitched at Uch (may God preserve it,)! was received with favour. When his majesty returned from that fort, the compiler also came to Dehli (may God glorify it!) with the victorious army of that invincible king, and reached the city in the month of Ramazan A.H. 625 (August 1228). At this time messengers bringing splendid robes from the seat of the Khilafat reached the frontiers of Nagore, and on Monday, the 2nd of Rabi'ul awwal A.H. 626, they arrived at the capital, and the city was adorned by their presence. The king and his chief nobles and his sons and the other nobility and servants were all honoured with robes sent from the metropolis of Islam.

After great revelling and rejoicing, news arrived in Jumada-l awwal 626 (April, 1229), of the death of Prince Sa'id Nasiru-d din Mahmud. Balka⁹³ Malik Khiliji had broken out in rebellion in territories of Lakhnauti, and Sultan Shamsu-d din led thither the armies of Hindustan, and having captured the rebel, he, in A.H. 627 gave the throne of Lakhnauti to Malik 'Alau-d din Jani, and'

returned to his capital in the month of Rajab of the same

year.

In A.H. 629 he marched for the conquest of Gwalior, and when his royal tents were pitched under the walls of the fort, Malik Deo,91 the accursed son of Basil the accursed, began the war. For eleven months the camp remained under the fort. In the month of Sha'ban of the same year the author of this book came to the Court from Dehli and obtained audience. He was ordered to preach in turn at the door of the royal tent. Discourses were appointed to be delivered three times every week, and during the month of Ramazan on every day. But in other months the rule of three times was observed. Ninety-five times religious assemblies were convened at the royal tents. On both 'Ids, viz. 'Id-i fitr and 'Id-i azha', the appropriate prayers were read at three different places in the army of Islam. At one of these, at the fort of Gwalior on the northern side, this wellwisher of the government. Minhaj Siraj, was ordered on the 'Id-i azha' to read the Khutba and the prayers, and was honoured with the reward of a costly khil'at. The same rule was observed until the fort was conquered, on Tuseday, the 26th of Safar A.H. 630 (November 1232).

The accursed Malik Deo went out of the fort in the night time and fled. About seven hundred persons were ordered to receive punishment at the door of the royal tent. Factor this, promotions were made in the ranks of the nobles and great officers. Malik Ziau-d din Muhammad Junaidi was appointed chief justice, and the commander-in-chief Rashidu-d din (peace be to him!)

⁹⁴Firishta has the more likely name of "Deobal."
95Firishta says three hundred were put to death.
"Siyasat," the word here employed, signiges punishment inflicted at the discretion of a judge in cases not provided for by law, and there is no doubt that the punishment of death is intended.

was made Kotwal, and Minhaj Siraj, the well-wisher of this government, was made law-officer, and was entrusted with the supervision of the preaching, and of all religious, moral, and judicial affairs. Rich kihil'ats and valuable largesses were distributed. May the Alimighty aid the pure soul and generous heart of that most beneficent, heroic, and kind king! His majesty started on his return from the fort on the 2nd of Rabi'ul awwal in the same year and pitched his tents that day at about one parasang towards Dehli from the walls of the fort. A halt of five days was made there. After he had reached the capital he sent, in A.H. 63296 (1234 A.D.), the army of Islam towards Malwa and took the fort and city of Bhilsa.97 There was a temple there which was three hundred years in building. It was about one hundred and five gaz high. He demolished it. From thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where there was a temple of Mahakal, which he destroyed, as well as the image of Bikaramajit, who was king of Ujjain, and reigned 1316 years before this time. The Hindu era dates from his reign. Some other images cast in copper were carried with the stone image of Maha-kal to Dehli.

In A.H. 636, he led the armies of Hindustan towards Banyan. In this journey his majesty fell sick and was obliged by his severe illness to return home. Wednesday morning, the Ist of Sha'ban, was fixed by the astrologers for his entrance into Dehli, the seat of his government, and entered the city in a howda on the back of an elephant.

^{96&}quot;631" in some copies.

⁹⁷In one copy the name is written "Bhilasan," and in another "Bilistan." This is probably the same as the "Bhaylasan" or "Mahabalastan," of Biruni, See Vol. I. p. 59 of the original edition.

⁹⁸Var. "Badhyan" and "Bayana." Firishta, the Turkh i-Badauni, and the Tabakat-i Akbari agree in saying Multan."

His illness increased, and nineteen days after, on the 20th of Sha'ban, 633 H. (end of April, 1235) he departed from this perishable to the eternal world. The period of his reign was twenty-six years. (List of his judges, generals, relations, and victories, follow).

2.—MALIK SA'ID NASIRU-D DUNYA WAU-D DIN MAHMUD

Malik Nasiru-d din Mahmud was the elder son of Sultan Shamsu-d din. He was an intelligent, learned, and wise prince, and was possessed of exceeding bravery, courage, generosity, and benevolence. The first charge which the Sultan confided to him was that of Hansi. Some time after, in 623 H. (1226 A.D.), Oudh was entrusted to him. In that country the prince exhibited many estimable qualties. He fought several battles, and by his boldness and bravery he made his name famous in the annals of Hindustan. He operthrew and sent to hell the accursed Bartuh(?) under whose hands and sword more than one hundred and twenty thousand Musulmans had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and

brought a body of them into submission.

From Oudh he determined to march against Lakhnauti, and the king placed the armies of Hindustan under his command. Several well-known chiefs, as Bolan (?) and Malik 'Alau-ddin went with him to Lakhnauti. Sultan Ghiyasu-d din 'Auz Khilji had marched from Lakhnauti to invade the territory of Bang (Bengal), and had left no force at his centre of government. Malik Sa'id Nasiru-d din, on arriving there with his army, took peaceable possession of the fort of Basankot and of the city. Ghiyasu-d din 'Auz Khilji, on receving this intelligence, returned to Lakhnauti and Malik Nasiru-d din with his army met him and defeated him. Ghiyasu-di din, with all his relations and chiefs of Khilji, the treasures and the clephants, fell into his hands. He put Ghiyasu-d din to death and confiscated all his treasures. From thence he sent presents and offerings to all the

saiyids and the learned and religious men of Dehli and all towns.

When Shamsu-d din received the khil'ats from the reigning Khalifa, he sent one of the most valuable with a red canopy to Lakhnauti, and Malik Nasiru-d din thus received great honour and distinction. All the nobles and great men turned their eyes towards him as the heir of his father's kingdom, but the decrees of fate did no accord with the wishes of the people. One year and a half afterwards he fell sick and died. When the news of his death reached Dehli all people were greatly distressed.

SULTAN RUKNU-D DIN FIROZ SHAH

Sultan Ruknu-d din Firoz Shah was a generous and handsome king, full of kindness and humanity. In liberality he was a second Hatim. His mother, the queen of the world, Shah Turkan, was orginally a Turki handmaid, but had become the chief wife of Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh. She lavished many offerings and much charity on learned men, saiyids, and devotess.

In the year 625 H. (1228 A. D.) Sultan Ruknu-d din received a grant of Badun with a green umbrella. 'Ainu-l Mulk Husain Ash'ari, who had been the wazir of Nasiru-d din Kubacha, then became wazir of Ruknu-d din. When Shamsu-d din returned from the conquest of Gwalior to Dehli, he conferred the terriories of Lahore, which had been the capital of Khusru Malik, on Ruknu-d din; and on his return from his last campaign, from the Indus and Banyan, he took Ruknu-d din with him to-Dehli, for the eyes of all men were on him, as the eldest of the king's sons since the death of Nasiru-d din Mahmud. On the death of Sultan Shamsu-din Altamsh, the princes and nobles placed Ruknu-d din upon the thone on Tuseday, the 29th of Sha'ban 633 H. (beginning of May 1236) and the crown and throne were graced by his accession. The nobles were gratified and received

robes of honour. When they returned home from the capital, the new monarch opened the doors of his treasury and gave himself up to pleasure, squandering the public wealth in improper places. So devoted was he to licentiousness and debauchery that the business of the

State was neglected and fell into confusion.

His mother, Shah Turkan, began to interfere in the government of the country. During the life of her husband his other women had looked upon her with envy and disdain. She now seized the opportunity of punishing them, and in blind fury and vindictiveness she put several of them to death. This state of things began to trouble the minds of public men. In addition to her other cruel acts she caused the young prince Kutbu-d din, son of the late king, and a very excellent youth, to be blinded and afterwards to be put to death. These acts aroused an inimcal feeling in the hearts of the great men in all directions. Malik Ghiyasu-d din Muhammad Shah, son of the late Sultan, and younger than Ruknu-d din, commenced hostilities in Oudh. He seized upon the treasure of Lakhnauti in its passage to the capital, and plundered several towns of Hindustan. Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salari, governor of Badaun revolted. Malik, 'Izzu-d din Kabir Khan, governor of Multan, Malik Saifu d din Kochi, governor of Hansi, and Malik 'Alau-d din, governor of Lahore, conspired and broke out into rebellion. Sultan Ruknu-d din led his army from Dehli to repress these malcontents, but his wazir, Nizamu-l mulk Muhammad Junaidi, took the alarm and deserted him at Kilu-ghari. He then went off towards kol and joined 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salari of Badaun. These two afterwards joined Malik Jani and Kochi. Sultan Ruknu-d din marched on to Kahram. The Turki nobles and the royal attendants who were about the person of the Sultan leagued together, and in the nighbourhood of Mansurpur and Narain, Taju-d din Muhammad, secretary and controller, Bahau-l

Mulk Husain Asha'ri, Karimu d din Zahid, Ziau-l Mulk, son of Nizamu-l Mulk Junaidi, Nizamu-d din Sharkani, Khwaja Rashidu-d din Malkani, Amir Fakhru-d din, and other confederate officials, killed the Tazik. 199 In the month of Rabi'u-l awwal 634 H (November, 1236 A.D.,) Raziya, eldest daughter of the late Sultan quarrelled with the mother of Sultan Ruknu-d din, and the Sultan was constrained to return to Dehli. His mother had attempted to capture and kill Sultan Raziya, but the people rose, and the latter seized upon the royal palace and made the mother of the Sultan sultan royal palace and made

the mother of the Sultan prisoner.

When Ruknu-d din arrived at Kilu-ghari he found that rebellion had broken out, and that his mother had been made prisoner. The guards and Turkish nobles came into the city and joining Raziya, proffered their allegiance to her, and raised her to the throne. Being thus elevated to the throne, she sent an army of Turks and nobles to Kulu-ghari and they brought Sultan Ruknu-d din prisoner to Dehli, where he was kept in confinement and died. His death happened on Sunday, the 18th of Rabi'u-l awwal A.H. 634 (November 1236 A. D.). He reigned for six months and twenty-eight days. He was very generous; no king in any reign had ever scattered gifts, robes of honour, and grants in the way he did, but all his lavishness sprang from his inordinate addiction to sensuality, pleasure, and conviviality. He was so entirely devoted to riot and debauchery that he often bestowed his honours and rewards on bands of singers, buffoons, and catamites. He scattered his riches to such a heedless extent, that he would ride out drunk upon an elephant through the streets and bazars, throwing tankas of red gold around him for the people to pick up and rejoice over. He was very fond of playing

^{99 &}quot;wa digar jumaat kardaran tazik ra shahid kardand" Firishta, more intelligibly says they deserted Ruknu-d din.

with and riding upon elephants, and all the elephant drivers were much benefited by his bounty. His nature was averse to hurting any creature, and his tenderness was the cause of his downfall.

Kings should possess all virtues that their people may live at ease. They should be generous, that the army may live satisfied; but sensuality, gaiety, and the society of the base and unworthy bring an empire to ruin. May God pardon him!

SULTAN100 RAZIYA, DAUGHTER OF THE SULTAN

Sultan Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just, and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities be fitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. (May God have mercy on her!) In the time of her father, Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din, she had exercised authority with great dignity. Her mother was the chief wife of his majesty and she resided in the chief royal palace in the Kushk-firozi. The Sultan discerned in her countenance the signs of power and bravery, and although she was a girl and lived in retirement, yet when the Sultan returned from the conquest of Gwalior, he directed his secretary, Taju-l Malik Mahmud, who was director of the government, to put her name in writing as heir of the kingdom, and successor to the throne. Before this farman was executed, the servants

shah," not, Sultana as by Briggs and Eliphinstone. Sultan signifies "ruler", and although, from Musulman aversion to female rulers, it is practically confined to the male sex, yet it is exceptionally used for queens regnant, as in this case. "Sultana" is not complimentary, for it signifies "a scold."

of the State, who were in close intimacy with his majesty, represented that, seeing the king had grown up sons who were worthy of the dignity, what wisdom could there be in making a woman the heir to a Muhammadan throne, and what advantage could accrue from it? They besought him to set their minds at ease, for the course that he proposed seemed very inexpedient. The king replied, My sons are devoted to the pleasure of youth, and no one of them is qualified to be king. They are unfit to rule the country, and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the State than my daughter. It was afterwards agreed by common consent that the king had judged wisely.

When Sultan Raziya succeeded to the throne, all things reverted to their old order. But the wazir of the State, Nizamu-l Mulk Junaidi did not give in his adhesion. He, together with Malik Jani, Malik Kochi, Malik Kabir Khan, and Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salari, assembling from different parts of the country at the gates of Dehli, made war against Sultan Raziya, and hostilities were carried on for a long time. After a while, Malik Nasiru-d din Tabashi Mu'izzi, who was governor of Oudh, brought up his forces to Dehli to the assistance of Sultan Raziya. When he had crossed the Ganges, the generals, who were fighting against Dehli, met him unexpectedly and took him prisoner. He then fell sick and died.

The stay of the insurgents at the gates of Dehli was protracted. Sultan Raziya, favoured by fortune, went out from the city and ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the banks of the Jumna. Several engagements took place between the Turkish nobles who were on the side of the Sultan, and the insurgent chiefs. At last peace was effected, with great adroitness and judicious management. Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salari and Malik 'Izzu-d din Kabir Khan Ayyaz

secretly joined the Sultan and came at night to her majesty's tents, upon the understanding that Malik Jani, Malik Kochi, and Nizamu-l Mulk Junaidi were to be summoned and closely imprisoned, so that the rebellion might subside. When these chiefs were informed of this matter they fled from their camps, and some horsemen of the Sultan pursued them. Malik Kochi and his brother Fakhru-d din were captured, and were afterwards killed in prison. Malik Jani was slain in the neighbourhood of Babul and Nakwan. Nizamu-l Mulk Junaidi went into the mountains of Bardar¹⁰¹ and died there after a while.

When the affairs of Raziya were thus settled, she conferred the office of wazir on an upright officer who had been the deputy of Nizamu-l Mulk, and he likewise received the title of Nizamu-l Mulk. The command of the army was given to Malik Saifu-d din Aibak Bahtu, with the title of Katlagh Khan. To Kabir Khan was assigned the province of Lahore. The country now enjoyed peace, and the power of the State became manifest. Throughout its territories from Lakhnauti to Dewal all the princes and nobles made their submission.

Shortly after Malik Aibak Bahtu died, and Malik Kutbu-d din Hasan Ghori was appointed to his office, and was ordered to march against the fort of Rantambhor. The Hindus laid siege to this fort after the death of Shamsu-d din, and had been before it some time, but when Kutbu-d din arrived, he drew the Musulman forces out of the fort and destroyed it. He then returned to Dehli.

About this time Malik Ikhtiyaru-d din Itigin was appointed lord chamberlain, and Amir Jamalu-d din Yakut, the superintendent of the stables, was made a personal attendant of her majesty. This created jealousy among the Turkish generals and nobles. The

101 (Var. "Sarmand-baradar." Firishta says "Sirmor.")

Sultan Raziya now threw off the dress and veil of women. She put on a coat (kaba) and cap, and showed herself among the people. When she rode on an elephant all men clearly saw her. She now ordered an army to march to Gwalior, and sent with it large gifts. There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, Minhaj Siraj, together with Majdu-l Umara Zia'u-d din Junaidi, chief Justice of Gwalior, and with other principal officers, came out of the fort of Gwalior on the 1st of Shaban, A.H. 635 (Feb. 1238) and proceeded to the Court of Dehli. In the month of Shaban of the same year, Sultan Raziya (may peace be to her!) appointed this well-wisher to the Nasiriya college102 and to the office of Kazi of Gwalior. In A.H. 637 (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Izzu-d din Kabir Khan, governor of Lahore, broke out in revolt. The Sultan led her army from Dehli in that direction and pursued him. After a time he made peace and did homage. The province of Multan which was held by Malik Karakash, was given to Malik 'Izzu-d din Kabir Khan.

On Thursday, the 19th of Ramazan A.H. 637 (April, 1240) Sultan Raziya returned to the capital. Malik Altuniya, who was governor of Tabarhindh, 103 revolted, and some of the officers of the Court on the frontier supported him. On Wednesday, the 9th of the same month and year she marched with a numerous army towards Tabarhindh to put down these rebels. When she arrived there she was attacked by the Turks, who put Amir Jalalu-d din Yakut, the Abyssinian to death. They then seized the Sultan Raziya and sent her a prisoner to the fort of Tabarhindh.

Among the incidents which occurred at the begin-

^{102 (&}quot;madrasae nasiriyah dar hazrat manzum")
103 The Habibu-s Siyar says distinctly Sarhind.
Firishta has "Bhatinda."

ning of the reign of Sultan Raziya, this was the most remarkable, that the Karmatians and heretics of Hindustan, being seduced by a person with some pretensions to learning, who was called Nur Turk, flocked to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustan: such as Guzerat, Sind, the environs of the capital, and the banks of the Jumna and Ganges. They assembled in Dehli, and making a compact of fidelity to each other, they at the instigation of this Nur Turk, declared open hostility against the people of Islam. When Nur preached, the rabble used to gather round him. He used to say that the learned Sunnis and their flocks were nasibis and to call them marjis.104 He endeavoured also to inflame the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abu Hanifa and Shafi. On a day appointed, on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rajab, A.H. 634 (March, 1237), the whole body of heretics and Karmatians, to the number of about one thousand men, armed with swords, shields, arrows, and other weapons, came in two parties to the Jama' masjid of Dehli. One division came from the northern side and passed by the fort of Nur to the gate of the masjid. This other proceeded from the clothes bazar, and entered the gate of the Mu'izzi, under the impression that it was the masjid. On both sides they attacked the Musulmans. Many of the faithful were slain by the sword and many were trampled to death by the crowd. When a cry arose from the people in consequence of this outrage, the brave officers of the government such as Nasiru-d din Aitmur Balarami, Amir Imam Nasir Shair and others, fully armed with mail, cuirass, and helmet, with spears, shields and other weapons, gathered on all sides and rode into the masjid.

^{101 (&}quot;Nasibis" are the enemies of 'Ali, and the "marjis" or "procrastinators" are a sect who think faith sufficient and works unnecessary).

They plied their swords on the heretics and Karmatians; and the Musulmans who had gone (for refuge) to the top of the mosque hurled down stones and bricks till every heretic and Karmatians was sent to hell, and riot was quelled.¹⁰⁵ Thanks be to God for the favour and glory he has given to the faith.

When Sultan Raziya was taken prisoner to Tabarhindh, Malik Altuniya espoused her and led her army towards Dehli to regain possession of the kingdom. Malik 'Izzu-d din Muhammad Salari and Malik Karakash left the capital and went to join them. Meanwhile, Mu'izzu-d din had ascended the throne, Ikhtiyaru-d din Itigin, lord chamberlain, had been slain, and Badru-d din Sankar Rumi had been appointed his successor. In the month of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 638 (Sept. 1240) the Sultan marched his army from Dehli to repel his opponents, and Sultan Raziya and Malik Altuniya were defeated. When in their flight, they reached Kaithal, their remaining forces abandoned them, and they both fell into the hands of the Hindus and were killed. The date of this defeat was the 24th of Rabi'u-l awwal, A.H. 638 (Oct. 1240), and the Sultan Raziya was killed on the day following. She had reigned three years and six days.

5. MU'IZZU-D DIN BAHRAM SHAH

Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Bahram Shah was a victorious king; a fearless, intrepid, and sanguinary man. Still he had some virtues. He was shy and unceremonious, and had no taste for the gorgeous attire which kings love to wear, nor for the belts, accoutrements, banners, and other insignia of royalty. When Sultan Raziya was sent to prison at Tabarhindh, the nobles and the generals agreed to send him to Dehli and on Monday the 27th

the general historians, but is quoted nearly "verbatim" by Nuru-l Hakk in the Zubdatu-t Tawarikh.

of Ramazan 637 (April, 1240) they raised him to the throne. After all the nobles and the generals and the army had returned to Dehli on Sunday the 11th Shawwal of the same year, they assembled at the palace and made a general agreement to uphold him as king on condition of Ikhtiyaru-d din Itigin being made deputy. On that day the author of this work was present and composed the following gratulatory lines.

Ikhtiyaru-d din, having been appointed deputy, he in virtue of his office assumed the direction of all affairs of State, and with the acquiescence of the wazir Nizamu-l mulk Mahzabu-d din Muhammad 'Auz Mustaufi the duties of administration also came under his control. After a month or two this state of affairs became very irksome to the Sultan. The Sultan's sister had been married to Kazi Nasiru-d din, but being divorced, the deputy took her as wife. Music played three times a day at his gate, an elephant was always there in waiting106 and he maintained great state. On Monday, the 8th of Muharram 638 H. (July, 1240), there was a sermon in the Palace of the White-roof, and after the sermon the Sultan sent two inebriated Turks from the top of the palace as assassins, who killed Ikhtiyaru-d din in front of the royal seat in the White Palace. The wazir Mahzabu-d din also received two wounds in his side, but his time was not come, and he rushed out away from them. Malik Badru d din Sankar became lord chamberlain and assumed the management of the State.

When Raziya and Altuniya marched from Tabarhindh upon Dehli, they were baffled in their enterprise and were defeated. Both were killed by the Hindus as we have already related. Badru-d din Sankar now assumed a very imperious position; he issued orders and carried on the government without consulting the Sultan,

¹⁰⁶ Regal privileges.

and sought to domineer over the wazir Nizamu-l Mulk Mahzabuddin. The wazir complained to the Sultan and succeeded in setting him against Badru-d din. When the latter perceived this he was afraid of the Sultan, and sought to set him aside and to raise one of his brothers to the throne in his stead.

On Monday, the 8th of Safar 639 H. (Aug. 1241) Badru-d din convoked a meeting of nobles and chiefs at the house of Sadru-l Mulk Taju-d 'Ali Musawi, mushrif of the State. There were present the chief Kazi Jalalu-d din Kashani, Kazi Kabiru-d din, Shaikh Muhammad Shami, and others. When they had met and were deliberating about the removal of the Sultan, they determined to send Sadru-l Mulk to the wazir Nizamu-l mulk Mahzabu-d din to invite his attendance, and to finally settle the matter in concurrence with him. It so happened that when Sadru-l mulk came to the house of the wazir, one of the confidential attendants of the king was present. When the wazir heard of the arrival of Sadru-l mulk, he concealed this trusty servant in a place where he could hear the conversation. Sadru-l mulk entered and proceeded to talk about the removal of the king and to ask the co-operation of the wazir. The minister desired his visitor to return and say that he would wait upon the gentlemen as soon as he had performed his ablution. Sadru-l mulk had no sooner departed than the wazir released the Sultan's man and asked him if he had heard what had passed. He then directed him to go quickly and tell his master that the best thing he could do would be to take horse and to proceed against the conspirators and scatter them.

The facts being reported to the Sultan by his faithful adherent, he instantly mounted and dispersed the plotters. Badru-d din Sankar joined the king's party, and the Sultan returned to his palace, where he held a darbar. Badru-d din was ordered to depart instantly to Badaun and assume the management of that province;

Kazi Jalalu-d din Kashani was dismissed from his post of Kazi and Kazi Kabiru-d din and Shaikh Muhammad Sami took the alarm and fled the city. After four months, Badru-d din Sankar returned to the capital, but the Sultan's heart was entirely alienated from him, so he ordered him to be imprisoned. The king also directed Jalalu-d din Musawi to be apprehended, and he had them both slain in prison.

These proceedings set the hearts of the nobles against the Sultan; they were alarmed and had no longer any confidence in him. The wazir also longed to exact vengeance for the wounds he had received. The nobles, generals, and Turks all became disaffected, while on his side the Sultan was alarmed by their proceedings. In the end this uneasy feeling spread like an epidemic, and was the cause of the fall of the Sultan

and of rebellion among his people.

One of the most important events in the reign of Mui'zzu-d din was that which happened to the city of Lahore. An army of infidel Mughals came from Khurasan and Ghazni to the gates of that city and waged war for some time. Malik Karakash, governor of Lahore, was a brave, energetic, and intrepid man, but the people of the city did not support him, and were backward in keeping watch and in fighting. When Karakash perceived this lukewarmness, he one night left the city with his own soldiers and went off towards Dehli. The infidels pursued him, but the Almighty watched over him and gave him safe deliverence. When the city was left without a ruler the infidels captured it on Monday 18th of Jumada-l akhir, 639 H. (December 1241) slaughtered the Muhammadans and made their dependants captives.

As soon as this dreadful intelligence reached Dehli, the Sultan assembled the people of the city at the White Palace, and the writer of this book received orders to preach and induce the people to support the Sultan.

There was a Turkoman darwesh named Ayub, a devout man, clad in the hairy garment of a recluse. He had lived for some time quietly in the Sultan's water palace, and was brought into the society of the Sultan, who conceived a liking for him. This darwesh began to take a part in the business of the state. He had formerly lived in the town of Mihrpur, where he had been imprisoned by Kazi Shamsu-d din Mihr. When the Sultan had become accustomed to listen to his advice, the darwesh exerted himself so that he induced the king to have Kazi Shamsu-d din Mihr cast under the feet of an elephant. On this fact becoming known the people conceived a great dread of the Sultan. The Sultan now sent Kutbu-d din Husain and his wazir, with nobles, generals, and soldiers, to oppose the Mughals who were at Lahore, and to guard his frontier.

On Saturday, 10th Jumada-l awwal, 639 H. (November 1241) his majesty Mu'izzu-d din conferred upon the author of this work the office of Kazi of the capital and of all his territories, accompanied with many honours

and costly presents.

The army which had been sent against the Mughals reached the banks of he Biyah. There the minister Mahzabu-d din Nizamu-l Mulk, who cherished hopes of vengeance and of removing the Sultan from the throne, wrote a letter secretly to him. In this letter he represented that the generals and Turks in the army were never likely to become loyal and that the best course for the king to adopt would be to send orders for him (the wazir) and Kutbu-d din to kill all the generals and Turks in any way they could, and so free the kingdom of them.

When this letter arrived, the Sultan hastily and rashly without thought or consideration, wrote the desired order, and sent it off. On its reaching the wazir he showed it to the generals and Turks, and told them how the king wished to deal with them. They all at

once revolted, and at the suggestion of Khwaja Mahzabu-d din they formed a plot for the removal and deposi-

tion of the king.

On the Sultan's receiving intelligence of this revolt of his generals and army, he sent the Shaikhu-l Islam Saiyid Kutbu-d din to endeavour to allay the outbreak. He accordingly went to the army, but exerted himself to increase the strife. He returned with the army at his heels, and hostilities commenced under the walls of the capital. The author, Minhaj Siraj, and some of the chief men of the city, endeavoured in vain to allay the strife and make peace.

The army reached the city on Saturday, the 19th Shaban 639 and the siege went on until the month of Zi-l kada. Many were killed on both sides, and the suburbs of the city were laid waste. The reason of

these protracted hostilities was that there was in the king's service a man named Fakhru-d din Mubarak Shah Farkhi, who was chief of the carpet spreaders

(mihtar-farrash). This man had gained the favour of the king, and had great ascendancy over him. What-

ever he advised the king performed and the counsels of

the farrash were not for peace.

On Friday, the 7th Zi-l kada the followers of Khwaja Mahzab distributed three thousand chitals among a lot of foolish men, and excited inimical feelings among some even of this author's kindered (God forgive them!). They made a riot in the Jami masjid, after prayers, and drew their swords upon him. By God's mercy the author had a knife and a staff, which he seized, and with the help of some armed slaves whom he had with

him he made his way through the crowd.

The generals and Turks took the fort, and next day, on Saturday, the 8th Zi-l kada, 639 H. (May, 1242), they obtained possession of the whole city. The Sultan

^{107 (&}quot;dar asarat-e un falnah mubalighat namud")

was made prisoner. Mubarak Shah, farrash, who had embittered the strife, was also taken and was killed. In the night of Tuesday, the 17th of Zi-l kada, the Sultan was slain. He had reigned two years one month and a half.

6. SULTAN 'ALAU-D DIN MASUD SHAH BIN FIROZ SHAH Sultan 'Alau-d din Masud Shah was son of Sultan Ruknu-d din Firoz Shah. He was a generous and goodnatured prince, possessed of many estimable qualities. On Saturday, the 8th of Zi-l kada, 639 H. (May, 1242) when the city of Dehli was wrested from the hands of Mu'izzu-d din, the generals and nobles by common consent released from prison the three princes Nasiru-d din, Malik Jalalu-d din, and 'Alau-d din. They conveyed them from the White Palace to the public hall of the palace of Firoz, and there they agreed to make Alau-d din king, although Malik 'Izzu-d din Balban had previously seated himself upon the throne. This Balban had caused his name to be proclaimed as king through the city, but is was not accepted. 'Alau-d din was raised to the throne, and the people gave a general acquieseence. Kutbu-d din Husain Ghori was made deputy of the kingdom, and Nizamu-l Mulk wazir, and Malik Karakash lord Chamberlain. The districts of Nagor, Mandawar, and Ajmir were assigned to Malik 'Izzu-d din Balban, and the country, of Badaun was given to Malik Taju-d din Sanjar Katlak.

On the fourth day after the capture of Dehli the writer of these pages begged to be relieved of his office of Kazi and the post remained vacant for twenty-six days, till the fourth of Zi-l hijja, when Kazi 'Imadu-d

din Muhammad Shakurkani was appointed.

Nizamu-l Mulk Mahzabu-d din exercised unbounded power over the country, and he took the district of Kol as his appanage. Previous to this he had caused music to play, and an elephant to wait at the door of his mansion. Everything was taken out of the hands of the Turki nobles, so that they became embittered against him. They conspired together, and on Wednesday, 2nd Jumada-l awwal, 640 H. (30th Oct., 1242 A.D.) they killed him in the camp before the city in the plain of Hauz-rani.

The author of this work resolved at this time to make a journey to Lakhnauti, and he started from Dehli on Friday, the 9th Rajab, 640 H. Taju-d din Katlak paid him great attention in Badaun, and so also did Kamru-d din Kairan in Oudh (May God immerse them in his mercy!) Tughan Khan 'Izzu-d din Tughril had come with his army and boats to the confines of Karra. The author joined him from Oudh, and went with him to Lakhnauti. On Sunday, the 7th Zi-l hijja, 640 H. the author arrived at the place, having left his children and wives all in Oudh. Subsequently he sent some trustworthy persons who brought them to Lakhnauti. Tughan Khan showed him great kindness, and bestowed upon him boundless favours. The writer stayed at Lakhnauti two years.

In the course of these two years 'Alau-d din achieved many victories in different parts of his dominions. After the death of Khwaja Mahzab, the post of wazir was given to Sadru-l Mulk Najmu-d din Abu Bakr, and the office of lord chamberlain was given to Daru-l Mulk Baligh Khan, together with the district of Hansi. At

this time there was much fighting going on.

When Tughan Khan returned from Karra to Lakhnauti he deputed Sharfu-l Mulk Ashari to the presence of 'Alau-d din, and he was named governor of Lakhnauti, receiving the honour of the red umbrella through Kazi Jalalu-d din who was kazi of Oudh. On Sunday, 11th of Rabi'u-l akhir 641 H. the bearers of these honours arrived at Lakhnauti and Tughan Khan was invested.

One of the good things, done by 'Alau-d din was

that about this time, he, with the assent of the nobles and officers, released his two uncles. On the 'Idi-i azha' they left their confinement. Malik Jalalu-d din received the district of Kannuj, and Nasiru-d din the district of Bahraich. Each one in his province devoted himself to peaceful pursuits and the improvement of the condi-

tion of his subjects.

In Shawwal 642 H. (March, 1245) the infidels of Changiz Khan came to the gates of Lakhnauti. On the 1st Zi-l kada Tamar Khan Kairan arrived at Lakhnauti with an army and generals under orders received from Sultan 'Alau-d din. Jealousy sprung up between Tamar Khan and Tughan Khan. On Wednesday, 3rd Zi-l kada of the same year, peace was made: Lakhnauti was given to Kairan Khan, and Tughan Khan proceeded to Dehli. The author of this work accompanied him and arrived at Dehli on Monday, 14th Safar 1243. Here the author was granted the honour of an interview with the sovereign, and on Thursday the 17th Safar, at the suggestion, of Ulugh Khan, he was appointed principal of the Nasiriya college, and superintendent of its endowments. He was also made kazi of Gwalior and preacher in the Jami masjid: all his old offices being again entrusted to him. He also received the royal grant of a horse with proper ornamental trap-pings; honours which none of his family had ever before attained.

In the month of Rajab news arrived from the upper parts (taraf-i bala) that an army of infidel Mughals had arrived at Uchh. This army was under the command of the accursed Mankuta¹⁰⁸ (Mangu Khan). Sultan 'Alau-d din gathered his forces from all sides to drive back the Mughal invaders. When he arrived on the banks of the Biyah the infidels raised the siege of Uchh. The author accompanied his majesty in this campaign, and it was universally admitted by all men of knowledge

¹⁰⁸ Var. "Mankuna."

and intelligence that such an army as was then under the orders of the Sultan had never before been seen. When the infidels heard of its strength and perfection

they retreated towards Khurasan.

In this army there was a party of good-for-nothing fellows who had gradually made their way into the society of the Sultan, and were the means of leading him into unworthy habits and practices. It was thus that he acquired the habit of seizing and killing his nobles. He became confirmed in his cruelty; all his excellent qualities were perverted, and he gave himself up to unbounded licentiousness, pleasure, and hunting. Disaffection began to spread through the kingdom, and all the business of the State fell into disorder. The princes and nobles agreed to send envoys with letters inviting Nasiru-d din, and the result will be hereafter related. On Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 H (June 1246) Sultan 'Alau-d din was put into prison and died. He reigned four years, one month, and one day.

7. SULTAN-I MU'AZZAM NASIRU-D DUNYA WAU-D DIN MAHMUD

This prince, son of Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d dunya wau-d din (Altamsh) was born after the death of his eldest brother, whose name and titles were conferred upon him by his father. His mother was sent to a palace in the town of Loni¹⁰⁹ where he was brought up and educated as a prince. Under the blessing of God he acquired every pleasing virtue.¹¹⁰

109 Var. "Toli", "Boli."

inserts specimens of two poems which he wrote on the accession of this king. A list of the king's nobles and relations is given, and the period of his reign is said to be "twenty-two-years." The real period was twenty years. Our author's annals cease with the 15th year.

FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIIJRA PCC (ETCP A.D.)

Sultan-i Mu'azzam Nasiru-d dunya wau-d din ascended the throne in the Green Palace at Dehli with the most favourable auspices on Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 H. (10th June, 1246). Princes and nobles, chiefs and great men, saiyids and learned men, all hastened with joy to express their devotion, and every one, according to his rank, offered congratulations upon his accession. On Tuesday the 25th he held a public court in the Firozi palace, and the people with one acclaim approved of the elevation of this generous, virtuous, and noble looking prince. The great rejoiced at this renewal of the sovereignty, and all parts of Hindustan were happy under his equitable rule. (May his reign endure to the

extreme limits of possibility!)

When (in the course of the last reign) the prince left Dehli for Bahraich his mother Malika-i lahan Jalalu-d dunya wau-d din accompanied him. In that country and in the hills he fought many battles against the infidels. Under his kind rule Bahraich attained great prosperity. The fame of his victorious and successful government spread in all parts of Hindustan, and when the princes and nobles were disgusted with the rule of 'Alau-d din, they sent letters screetly to him pressing him to come to the capital. The princess, his mother, prudently gave out that he was going to Dehli for medical attendance. He was placed in a litter and started from Bahraich attended by the princess, and by some careful men on horse and foot. When night came on they covered the prince's face with a woman's veil, mounted him on horseback, and making all speed they soon reached Dehli. No one knew of this arrival until the day he ascended the throne, and his occupation of the seat of royalty shed honour and splendour upon it.

In the month of Rajab, 644 H. he brought forth the royal standards, and led his army to the banks of the Indus and to Multan, in order to repulse the infi-

dels of Chin. On Sunday, the 1st of Zi-1 kada he crossed the river of Lahore, from whence he sent a force to ravage the hills of Jud, and the provinces on the the Indus.111 Ulugh Khan-i A'zam112 who now held the office of lord chamberlain, was placed in command of this army. The Sultan with the baggage and elephants encamped on the river Sodra.113 Ulugh Khan, with the help of God, ravaged the hills of Jud and the Jailam and sent many of the Kokharas (Gakkars) and rebellious infidels to hell. He then advanced to the banks of the Indus, and laid waste all the neighbourhood, but he was obliged to return for want of provender and other necessaries. He returned victorious to the royal camp on the Sodra with great renown, and on Thursday, 5th Zi-1 kada of the same year his majesty started for Dehli. On the 'Id-i azha' he offered up his prayers on the hills of Jalandar, and from thence proceeded to the capital. Minhaj Siraj, the writer o this work, received under his majesty's orders the gift of a coat and turban and of a horse with princely trappings.

His Majesty reached Dehli on Thursday, 2nd Muharram, 645 (9th May, 1247) and was detained there for six months by heavy rains. In Jumada-l akhir the royal army marched to Panipat, but in Shaban it returned

mistake for "Sindh," or the river Indus, which agrees with what follows, and with Firishta's statement.

and "Ulugh Khan," are synonymous, and signify "great Khan". They designate the same person, best known as Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Balban, successor to Sultan Nasiru-d din. I have employed the name Ulugh khan as being most distinctive.

113 (The Chinab).

and proceeded towards Hindustan through the Doab. In the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called Nandana¹¹⁴ where there is a very strong fort vying with the wall of Alexander. A body of infidel Hindus shut themselves up in this place, resolved to fight to the last extremity. For two days the royal army carried on a murderous conflict at this village, but at length the rebels were sent to hell, and the place was subdued.

The author of this work celebrated the victory and all the events of the campaign in verse. The slaughter of the rebellious infidels, the capture of their fortifications, and the success of Ulugh Khan-i Mu'azzam in killing and taking prisoner Dalaki wa Malaki¹¹⁵ these and all the other incidents are celebrated fully in the poem to which the author gave the name of his gracious master, and called it "Nasiri-nama." For this poem the author received from the Sultan the grant of a fine annual allowance, and from Ulugh Khan he received the grant in in'am of a village near Hansi. (May God long maintain the seats of their empire and rule!) But I return to the thread of my history.

On Thursday, 24th Shawwal, 645 (February, 1248), the fort was captured after much fighting and bloodshed.

sanda." Briggs says "Bitunda" which place he indentifies with Bulandshar. But Bitunda or Bhatinda is in Pattiala almost in a line between Dehli and Lahore. Neither this nor Bulandshahr can be the place here intended.)

in a following paragraph and elsewhere distinctly treats the two names as belonging to one person. Briggs, in his translation of Firishta says, "The Rajas Dulky and Mulky," and "These two rajas" but the text has "Dalaki Malaki," and adds, "This Dalaki Malaki was a raja."

Subsequently, on Monday, 12th Zi-l kada 645, the army marched to Karra. Three days before Ulugh Khan had been sent on before with all the generals and princes of the army. The exploits and successes of this brave and skilful warrior, his victories in the field, his conquests of forts, fortified places, and jungles, his slaughter of rebellious infidels, his taking of booty and captives, and his capture of the dependants of great Ranas cannot here be recounted but they are celebrated in the Nasiri-nama.

There was in this neighbourhood a Rana¹¹⁶ who (ora) was called Dalaki wa Malaki. He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he (Ulugh Khan) ravaged. He took prisoners the wives, sons, and dependants of that accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this. When he returned and waited on his sovereign all his brother nobles congratulated him on his victories.117 On Thurseday, 11th Zi-l kada, 645, the Sultan started on his return from that country, and during his progress he was waited upon by Malik Jalalu-d din Masud, governor of Kanauj, who had the honour of an interview and went home. The Sultan then continued his journey to the capital.

On Wednesday, 24th Muharram, 646 (20th May, 1248) the Sultan reached Dehli, and took his seat upon the throne with great state. When Malik Jalalu-d din waited upon the king as he was returning, he was appointed governor of Sambal and Badaun, but he all at once took

^{116 &}quot;Ranae burad."

¹¹⁷ The scene of this victory is not named, but Firishta tells us it was Kalinjar.

alarm about these two districts and came to the capital. The Sultan stayed at Dehli seven months, until the 6th Shaban. He then marched out on a campaign towards the hills and deserts; but he sent on his generals, and then returned to the capital, not finding occasion to proceed in person. He reached Dehli on Wednesday, 9th Zi-l kada. The royal army continued its march to the mountains of Rantambhor. Two important events occurred during this campaign. First-Kazi 'Imadu-d din Shakurkani incurred suspicion, and on Friday, 9th Zi-l hijja he was dismissed from office in the White Palace, and by royal command proceeded to Badaun. On Monday, 12th Zi-l hijja, he was killed by 'Imadu-d din Rihan. Second-Malik Bahau-d din Aibak was killed by the infidel Hindus near the fort of Rantambhor, on the 11th Zi-l hijja.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 647 (1249 A.D.) On Monday, 3rd Safar, 647 (May, 1249), Ulugh Khan returned with his army to the capital. Being held in high estimation as a great supporter of the State, and the mainstay of the army, the Sultan, with the concurrence of the princes and nobles, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Khan. The marriage took place on Monday, 20th Rabi'u-l akhir. On Monday, 10th Jumada-l akhir, Kazi Jalalu-d din Kashani came from Oudh and was made Kazi of the State. On Monday, 22nd Shaban, the Sultan marched from Dehli. On Sunday, 4th Shawwal, he crossed the Jumna, intending to war against the Hindus in those parts. The author now received letters from his sister in Khurasan, and the Sultan being informed of the fact, he was graciously pleased, on the suggestion of Ulugh Khan, to give her one hundred beasts of burden,118 and one hundred ass-lo-

^{118 (}The word used is "burdah" for which the dictionaries give the meaning of "captive, slave, servant."

ads of presents. The Sultan returned to Dehli on Wednesday. On Monday, the 29th Zi-l hijja, the author left Dehli for Multan, with the object of forwarding the presents to Khurasan. When he reachead Hansi, he, with the permission of Ulugh Khan took possession of his in'am village. He then proceeded towards Multan by way of Abuhar.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 648 (1250 A.D.)

On Sunday, 11th Safar (the author), had an interview with Sher Khan on the banks of the river Sind and Biyah.119 He proceeded from thence to Multan where he arrived on Wednesday 6th Rabi'u-l awwal. On the same day, Malik 'Izzu-d din Lashkar Khan came from with him. He encamped there until the 26th of Rabi'u-l Uchh to take Multan, and the author had an interview akhir, but was unable to conquer Multan, which was in the possession of the followers of Sher Khan. The author started for the capital and Malik, Izzu-d din Balban went off to Uchh. The author, passing by the fort of Marut (Mirat?) to Sarsuti and Hansi, arrived at Dehli on the 22nd Jumada-l awwal. In this year Ikhtiyaru-d din Gurez made many of the infidel Mughals prisoners at Multan and sent them to Dehli, where their arrival caused much triumph. On Friday, 17th Zi-l kada, Kazi Jalalu-din Kashani died.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 649 (1251 A.D.)

Malik 'Izzu-d din broke into revolt at Nagor, and the

It can hardly bear this meaning here, and in other places it is connected with asp (horse), so I have translated it "beast of burden", from the verb "burdan," to carry).

119 (Firishta's account is somewhat different. He says that the Sultan was joined on the Biyah by Sher Khan, and marched to Multan. Our text has no nominative in this sentence, but the words used "mulakat-i

Sultan marched forth with his army to crush the outbreak, but 'Izzu-d din came forward and made his submission. The Sultan then returned to the capital. After this Sher Khan marched from Multan to take Uchh, and Malik 'Izzu-d din returned thither from Nagor, but he was captured in his encounter with Sher Khan and quietly surrendered the fort of Uchh to him, after which he went to Dehli, where he arrived on Sunday, 17th Rabi'u-l akhir and was appointed governor of Badaun.

Sunday, 10th Jumada-l awwal, the writer Minhaj Siraj was for the second time appointed Kazi of the

State and Magistrate of the capital.

On Tuesday, 25th Sha'ban, his Majesty marched towards Gwalior, Chanderi, Bazawal (?) and Malwa. He advanced nearly as far as Malwa. Jahir Deo¹²⁰ was the greatest of all the Ranas of that country and neighbourhood. He had five thousand horse and two thousand infantry, but he was defeated. The fort of Balwar¹²¹ which he had built was taken and plundered. Ulugh Khan exhibited great energy in this campaign, and great plunder and many captives fell into the hands of the victors. The Sultan returned in safety and with honour to Dehli.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 650 (1252 A.D.)
His Majesty reached Dehli on Monday, 23rd Rabi'u-l

Sher Khan hasil shud," show that the person who had the interview was not superior in rank to Sher Khan).

120 The text has "Jahirajar" with the variants "Jahirajad" and "Jahawarjar." Firishta and other writers say, "Jahir Deo." The name is doubtless the same as the "Chahar Deo," found on a local coin bearing the name of Altamsh as sovereign. See Thomas "Coins of Patan Sultans," page 15.

121 Var. "Bagor or Bagwar," "Bazor or Bazawar."

It is probably the same name as "Bazawal," a few lines

awwal 650 (2nd June, '1252) and dwelt for seven months at the capital in great comfort and splendour, engaged in works of benevolence, and in strengthening the administrations of justice. On Monday, 22nd Shawwal, he proceeded towards Lahore and Ghazni on the way to Uchh and Multan. When the author took leave of him near Kaithal he was honoured with the gift of a horse with trappings of gold and a saddle. In the course of this journey all the princes and Khans near the kings's route came in to wait upon him. Katlagh Khan from Bayana, and Lashkar Khan 'Izzu-d din from Badaun, with their followers, attended the Sultan to the banks of the Biyah. 'Imadu-d din Rihan secretly set the feelings of the Sultan and of the princes against Ulugh Khan and perverted their minds.

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 651 (1253 A.D.)

At the beginning of the new year, on Suturday, the 1st Muharram, Ulugh Khan received orders to go to his estates in the Siwalik hills and Hansi. When the Khan under these orders proceeded from Rohtak towards Hansi, the Sultan returned to Dehli, and directed his attention to the nobles and public affairs. In Jumada-lawwal the post of wazir was given to 'Ainu-l mulk Muhammad Nizam Junaidi. Malik Kishli Khan was made lord Chamberlain. Ulugh Mubarak Aibak, brother of the Khan-i mu'azzam (Ulugh Khan) was granted the fief of Karra, and was sent thither. In the same eyar 'Imadu-d din Rihan became prime minister (wakildar). 122

above. Briggs in his translation of Firishta says "Narwar" which is perhaps right, though his text has "Tar-

war," See post.

officer of the door, one "who superintended the ceremonies of presentation." A very reasonable explanation; and Vullers explains it "Procurator palatii regii, i.q.

The royal army then marched from Dehli towards Hansi with the design of ousting Ulugh Khan, 'Imad Khan now brought forward Kazi Shamsu-d din Bahraichi, and on the 27th Rajab he made him Kazi of the state. Ulugh Khan went from Hansi to Nagor, and his fief of Hansi was, through the interest of the lord chamberlain, bestowed upon Prince Ruknu-d din. In Sha'ban the king returned with the army to Dehli. In the beginning of Shawwal he again set forth, with the intention of subduing Uchh, Multan and Tabarhindh. When he approached the river Biyah, a force was despatched to Tabarhindh. Previous to this Sher Khan, through the attacks of the infidels had crossed the river Sindh, and had gone towards Turkistan. Uchh, Multan, and Tabarhindh were left in charge of his officers. On Monday, 22nd Zi-l hijja, (the country) was conquered, and placed under the charge of Arslan Khan. The royal then returned from the Biyah.

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 652 (1254 A.D)

At the beginning of this year victories and spoils were gained in the vicinity of the mountains of Bardar¹²³ and Pinjor. The army then crossed the Jumna. On Wednesday, 16th Muharram it passed over the Ganges at Miyapur, and continued its march along the base of the hills to the banks of the Rahab.124 In the course of these hostilities 'Izzu-d din Daramshi was killed at Tankala-bali.125 In revenge for his death the Sultan ordered an attack to be made on Kaithar (Kaithal), on

vicarius." Still there is no doubt that 'Imadu-d din was in reality minister, whatever the literal meaning of his title. In other places where it is used it would also appear to bear the meaning here given to it.

^{123 (}Sirmor?)

^{124 (}See Vol. I. p. 49 of the original edition.)

^{125 (}Var. Takiya-mani).

Monday, 16th Safar, such that the inhabitants might not forget for the rest of their lives. He then marched to Badaun, and arrived there with great pomp and display.

After a stay of nine days he started for Dehli.

On Sunday, 6th Rabi'u-l awwal, Sadru-l mulk Najmu-d din Abu Bakr was made minister for the second time, and on Sunday, 20th of the same month, the author was honoured with the title of Sadr-i Jahan (Chancellor of the World), in the neighbourhood of Kol. On Tuesday, 26th Rabi'u-l awwal, the Sultan arrived at Dehli, and remained there six months, until news was brought of the confederacy of the nobles with Malik Jalalu-d din. His Majesty left Dehli in Sha'ban, and proceeded towards Sanam and Tabarhindh. He passed the 'Id-i fitr in Sanam.

The forces of the confederate nobles, of Arslan Khan of Tabarhindh, Sanjan Aibak, and Ulugh Khan, were assembled with Jalalu-d din in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindh. His Majesty advanced from Sanam to Hansi, and the nobles retired to Kahram and Kaithal. The royal army marched thither, and then the confederates made propositions of peace. 'Imadu-d din Rihan was the cause of all the contention, so on Wednesday, 22nd Shawwal, the Sultan directed him to proceed to Badaun, which was given to him as his fief. Peace was thus made. On Tuesday, 17th Zi-l ka'da, after oaths had been taken and agreements concluded, all the nobles and officers waited on the king, and paid their allegiance. Lahore was given to Jalalu-d din. On Tuesday, 9th Zi-l hijja, the king returned with pomp and splendour to Dehli.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 653 (1255 A.D.)

At the beginning of the new year an extraordinary event occurred. Under the behests of fate the mind of his Majesty was turned against his mother, the Malika-i Jahan, who was married to Katlagh Khan. Oudh was

now granted to them, and they were ordered to proceed thither, which command they obeyed. This happened on Tuesday, 6th Muharram. On Sunday, 23rd Rabi'u-l awwal, his Majesty conferred the office of Kazi of the State and magistrate of the capital, as he had done before, on the writer of this work, Minhaj Siraj. In Rabi'u-l akhir, Malik Kutbu-d din, who was deputy of the State, uttered something which was offensive to the Sultan and on the 23rd of that month he was arrested and placed in prison where he was killed.

On Monday, 7th Jumada-l awwal, the fief of Mirat was conferred on Malik Kishli Khan Ulugh A'zzam Barbak-sultani, upon his coming from Karra to pay his respects to the Sultan. On Tuesday, 16th Rajab, Jamalu-d din Bastami was made Shaikhu-l Islam. In the same month Malik Taju-d din Siwistani proceeded from Oudh, and expelled 'Imadu-d din Rihan from Bahraich, and he died.

In the month of Shawwal the royal army marched from the capital to Hindustan. On Sunday, 17th Zi-l ka'da, Ulugh Khan Mu'azzam went to Hansi to superintend the military organization of the Siwalik hills, which having arranged he returned to Dehli. At the end of the year, on Wednesday, 9th Zi-l hijja he proceeded to the royal camp. Previous to this, Katlagh Khan had been directed to leave Oudh, and go to the fief of Bahraich. He resented this, so the Sultan sent a force under Malik Baktam Rukni to put him down. The two armies met near Badaun, and Baktam was killed. The royal army then marched to Oudh to retrieve this disaster, but Katlagh Khan retreated to Kalinjar. Thither Ulugh Khan pursued him, but failing to overtake him, he returned to the royal camp with great booty.

At the beginning of the new year, in the month of Muharram, the royal army having achieved victory, marched triumphant towards Dehli under the protection

of the Almighty, and reached the city on the 4th Rabi'u-l awwal. When Katlagh Khan heard of the Sultan's homeward march he began to interfere in the districts of Karra and Manikpur. A battle followed between him and Arslan Khan Sanjar Chist, in which the latter was victorious. Katlagh Khan could no longer remain in Hindustan, so he proceeded into Mawas,126 with the intention of proceeding to the highlands. He reached Santur126 and there took refuge among the hills and tribes of those parts. The royal army marched out to quell this disturbance on Tuseday, 20th Zi-l hijja, and at the beginning of the following year the army went to Santur, and fought a battle with the Hindus of the mountains. Katlagh Khan was with these mountaineers, and a party of nobles in the royal army, who had suspicious fears, went and joined him. They were unable to withsand the troops of the Sultan, so they turned their backs. Ulugh Khan ravaged the whole of the hills with the sword, and penetrated as far as the town of Salmur, in the defiles and fastnesses of the mountains. No king had ever laid hold upon Salmur nor had any Musulman army reached it. He now plundered it, and carried on a devastating warfare. So many of the rebellious Hindus were killed that the numbers cannot be computed or described.

After the return from the campaign on Sunday, 6th Rabi'u-l awwal, Malik Sanjan Aibak, of Khita, fell from his horse and died. On Sunday, 26th Rabi'u-l akhir the Sultan reached the capital with his army.

"santur" ("Var satur"). The former is probably Mewar, and the hills the Aravalli mountains. Briggs says there is a town called Santpur, near Abu. Thornton has a "Santoo", 84 miles S. S. W. from Jodhpur").

When the army returned victorious, 'Izzu-d din Kishlu Khan Balban advanced to the borders of the river Biyah, with the forces of Uchh and Multan. Malik Katlagh Khan and the nobles who were with him proceeded to join this new revolter in the neighbourhood of Samana.

When Intelligence of this rebellion reached the Sultan he placed Ulugh Khan at the head of an army, with which he marched from Dehli on Thursday, 15th Jumada-l awwal. He approached the enemy, and there was only ten kos between the opposing forces when he discovered that a party of conspirators in the capital, such as the Shaikhu-l Islam, Kutbu-d din, and Kazi Shamsu-d din Bahraichi, had secrectly addressed letters to Katlagh Khan and Malik Kishlu Khan Balban, inviting them to come to Dehli where they would find the gates open and every one in the city ready to assist and support these proceedings. Some faithful reporters in the capital conveyed intelligence of this conspiracy to Ulugh Khan who sent the letters back to his sovereign in Dehli, informing him of the plot of the nobles, and advising him to order such of them as had fiefs in the neighbourhood of Dehli to proceed to those estates. When the strom had blown over, and they returned to the capital, the Sultan might make an end of them.

On Sunday, 2nd Jumada-l akhir, an order was issued directing Saiyid Kutubu-d din and Kazi Shamsu-d din

Bahraichi to proceed to their estates.

When the letters which the conspirators sent from the city reached Malik Katlagh Khan and Malik Kishlu Khan, they instantly started with all their forces to Dehli and in two days and a half they accomplished the distance, one hundred kos. On Thursday, 6th Jumada-l akhir, they alighted at their gardens (outside the city), and in the morning, after prayers, they came to the gate of the city, and made the circuit of the walls. At night they pitched their camp within sight of Dehli,

between the Jumna127 Kilu-ghari and the city. By the mercy of God it so happened that two days before these nobles came to their gardens on the Jumna, in reliance upon the promises held out in the letters, a number of the conspirators had gone out of the city. When the nobles heard of this they became very cautious in their

proceedings.

The Sultan ordered the gates of the city to be closed, and as the army was absent every preparation was made for war. 'Alau-d din Ayyaz Zanjani, lord chamberlain, the deputy of the lord Chamberlain, Ulugh Kotwal Beg Jamalu-d din Naishapuri, and the diwan i'arz i mamalik, exterted themselves most laudably in making the city secure and in arming the fighting men. At night the nobles, officers and the chief men were posted on the walls of the city. On the following morning, a Friday, the Almighty showed the inhabitants a pleasant sight. Kishlu Khan had made up his mind to retire, and sundry other nobles and the mother of the Sultan when they preceived this, all made up their minds to retreat. The greater part of their forces, however, would not consent to retreat with them, but encamped near the city. Many of the chief men and officers asked forgiveness and joined the royal service, and those nobles returned disappointed to the Siwalik hills.

When the news of this enterprise reached Ulugh Khan and the officers of the royal army, they returned towards Dehli, and as they approached the result became known to them. On Tuseday, 11th Jumada-l akhir, Ulugh Khan entered the city safely and triumphantly. After this on Wednesday, 8th Ramazan, Ziyau-l mulk

Taju-d din was raised to the dignity of wazir.

At the close of this year the infidel Mughals approached from Khurasan, and advanced into the

^{127 (&}quot;The text has "Jud," which I take to be a mistake for Jun-Jumna.")

territories of Uchh and Multan. Kishlu Khan entered into a treaty with them, and joined them at the camp of Salin-nawin.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 656 (1258 A.D.)

At the beginnning of the new year, on Sunday, the 6th Muharram, the Sultan marched with his army from Dehli to oppose the infidel Mughals. Trustworthy writers have recorded that on Wednesday, 4th of the same month, Hulaku, chief of the Mughals, was defeated before the gates of Baghdad, by the forces of the Khalifa M'utasim Bi-llah.¹²⁸

When the royal army left the city nobles and generals were appointed to the command of forces in different parts. The main body returned to the capital on the 1st Ramazan and remained there five months. On the 18th Zi-l kada the country of Lakhnauti was given to Malik Jalalu-d din Masud Malik Jani.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 657 (1259 A.D.)

On the 16th Muharram the royal army marched from the capital on a campaign against the infidels. On Sunday, 21st Safar, the districts of Bayana, Kol, Bala-ram, and Gwalior were assigned to Malik Sher Khan. Maliku-n nawwab Aibak was appointed to command an army sent against the infidels of Rantambhor and the Sultan returned to Dehli. On Wednesday, 4th Jumada-l akhir, two elephants with the treasure came to the court from Lakhnauti. On the 6th of the same month, the Shaikhu-l Islam Jamalu-d din Bastami died, and on the 24th Kazi Kabiru-d din also departed. (May God have mercy on them!) By the favour of the Sultan their mansabs were continued to their sons. In Rajab Malik Kishli Khan-i a'zam Barbak Aibak died, and the office of lord cham-

128("A note in the printed text says that all the four MSS. used agree in this statement, so contrary to the truth. Baghdad fell, and the Khalifa was put to death".)

berlain was given to his son, Malik 'Alau-d din Muham-mad. On the 1st Ramazan, Imam Hamidu-d din Marikala died, and the Sultan graciously continued his in'ams to his sons.

After all this trouble the State enjoyed repose; troubles were appeased and wounds were healed. All things went on prosperously. On the 29th Ramazan the Almighty in his bounty gave the Sultan a son. The gifts and honours which were showered on the rich and poor exceeded all powers of description. At the end of Shawwal, Malik Tamar Khan, Sanjar under the royal orders returned to Dehli with his army.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN—HIJRA 658 (1260 A.D.)

The new year opened auspiciously. On the 16th Ramazan Ulugh Khan was sent into the hills of Dehli, to chastise the rebel inhabitants of Mewat, and to intimidate their Deo. Ten thousand horsemen in armour, and a large army of brave and warlike soldiers were under his command. Great booty was gained, and many cattle captured. Defiles and passes were cleared, strong forts were taken, and numberless Hindus perished under the merciless swords of the soldiers of Islam.

I have resolved, upon reflection, to close my history at this place and with this victory. If life and opportunity are given to me, I may hereafter record any remarkable events that may happen. I beg the indulgent reader to forgive my errors, faults, and omissions, I pray that God may preserve in continued prosperity my gracious Sultan, and I hope that my composition of this work may be deemed meritorious both in this world and the next.¹²⁹

^{129(&}quot;I have here greatly compressed the author's flourishes".)

TABAKAT XXII

(PAGE 281 TO 324 OF THE PRINTED TEXT)

No. 25. Al Khakanu-l Mu'azzam Bahau-l hakk wau-d din Ulugh Khan Balbanu-s Sultani (otherwise called Ghiyasu-d din Balban).

The Khakan-i Mu'azzam Ulugh Khan-i 'azam belonged to the stock of the Khakans of Albari.130 His father and the father of Sher Khan were born of the same father and mother, the father being of the race of the Khakans of Albari. He was khan over ten thousand houses (khana), and the family was well known in Albari of Turkistan, among the Turki tribes. At the present time the sons of his (Ulugh Khan's) paternal uncles rule over tribes with great distinction. I was informed of these facts by Kurbat Khan Sanjar. The Almighty desired to grant a support to the power of Islam and to the strength of the Muhammadan faith, to extend his glorious shadow over it, and to preserve Hindustan within the range of his favour and protection. He therefore removed Ulugh Khan in his youth from Turkistan, and separated him from his race and kindred, from his tribe and relations, and conveyed him to the country (or Hindustan), for the purpose of curbing the Mughals. God conducted him to Bagdad, and from that city to Guzerat. Khwaja. Jamalu-d din Basri, a man remarkable for piety and integrity, ability and worth, bought him, and brought him up carefully like a son. Intelligence and ability shone out clearly in his countenance, so his patron looked upon him with an eye of kindness and treated him with especial consideration.

In the year 630 H. (1232 A.D) he brought him to Dehli when Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d dunya wau-d din adorned the throne. With several other Turks he was

brought into the presence of the Sultan. When the monarch observed him he bought all the lot of Turks and appointed them to attend before his throne. Ulugh was seen to be a youth of great promise, so the king made him his personal attendant, placing, as one might say, the hawk of fortune on his hand. So that in after times, in the reigns of this monarch's children, it might come to pass that this youth should save the kingdom from the violence and machinations of its foes, and

raise it to a high pitch of glory and honour.

At this period, while he was discharging his duties, by the decree of fate, he recovered his brother Kishli Khan (afterwards) lord chamberlain, at which he rejoiced greatly. His power became conspicuous. When Sultan Ruknu-d din came to the throne, he went off along with the Turks from Dehli to Hindustan and when the Turks were brought back he returned to Dehli in their army. He was imprisoned for some days and subjected to some indignity. The design in this may have been (God knows!) that he should taste the sufferings of the miserable, so that when he attained to the sovereign dignity he might have compassion on them, and be thankful for his own exaltation. (A story is introduced here).

Let us return to our history. When Sultan Raziya ascended the throne Ulugh Khan continued to be one of the royal attendants (Khassa-dar) till fortune favoured him, and he became chief huntsman (Amir shikar). Fate proclaimed that the earth was to be the prey of his fortune and the world the game of his sovereignty. He held this office and discharged its duties for some time till the sun of the supremacy of Raziya set and that of Mu'izzu-d din Bahram Shah shone forth. Fortune still befriended him. After remaining some time in his position of chief huntsman, performing his service, and exhibiting marks of ability, he was made master of the horse. The steed of sovereignty and empire thus came

under his bridle and control. When Badru-d din Sankar became lord chamberlain, he showed a paternal interest in Ulugh Khan, and took such care of his advancement that he was raised to a higher position, and received a grant of the lands of Riwari. He went to that place, and by his vigour and bravery punished the hill chiefs131

and brought the district under his rule.

When the power of the Mu'izzi dynasty was declining, the nobles conspired together and came to the gates of the city (Dehli). The princes and nobles all agreed as to the course to be pursued. Ulugh Khan,132 grantee of Riwari, displayed such energy and exhibited such remarkable resolution in securing the submission of the provinces, that no one of the princes and nobles, Turks and Taziks, was worth the hundredth part of him. All the confederates admitted that in vigour, courage, and activity he surpassed them all. When the city was conquered he received a grant of Hansi. On taking possession of the territory he applied himself to its improvement, and through his justice and generosity all the inhabitants were happy and content. His success was so great that other nobles began to look upon it with jealousy, and the thorn of envy began to rankle in their hearts. But it was the will of God that he should excel them all, so that the more the fire of their envy burnt, the stronger did the incense of his fortune rise from the censer of the times. "They seek to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God willeth only to

132 The text says "the Sultan (may God prolong his reign!)"; plainly showing that this part of the work was

written in the reign of Balban.

^{131 (&}quot;mawasat-i kuh ra malish tamam dad." The word "mawas" signifies protection, dependence; but it appears to have some other technical meaning. Further on we read of the Mawasat of the Doab, and "the Mawasat and Ranagan.")

perfect his light." (The author continues in a high strain of benediction and eulogy).

A.D.) this humble individual (the author) had to travel to Lakhnauti with his family and dependants. In this journey he spent two years. Trustworthy persons have recorded that in the year 641 Ulugh Khan was appointed lord chamberlain. When the royal army marched from the capital he inflicted a severe chastisement on the rebels of Jalali and Dewali, and the Mawas in the doab between the Ganges and Jumna. He fought much against the inflidels and cleared the roads and neighbouring country

from insurgents.

In the year 643 the author under the imperial orders, left Lakhnauti with his family and returned to the capital in company with Tughan Khan Tughril. In this year the accursed Mankuti (Mangu-Khan), who was one of the generals of the Mughals and a prince of Turkistan, marched from the neighbourhood of Talikan and Kunduz into Sindh. He laid siege to Uchh, one of the most renowned fortresses of Sindh, and equal to Mansura.133 There was a eunuch in (command of) the fort who belonged to the household of Taju-d din. Abu Bakr-Kabir Khan Aksunkar was chief justice, and Mukhlisu-d din was kotwal. When intelligence of this inroad reached the Court, Ulugh Khan made known his views to the Sultan and prepared an army to oppose the Mughals. The princes and nobles were opposed to this expedition134 but Malik Ulugh Khan was very earnest about it.

^{133 &}quot;wa hasan uch ra ki dar qalla namdar bilad-i Sindh ast wa arz-i mansurah dar band-i un dad." The words are not very precise, but the mention of Mansura is curious.

^{134 &}quot;astankari mi aurad."

When the royal army marched towards the seat of warfare, the Khakan-i Mu'azzam¹³⁵ Ulugh Khan (may his reign endure!) appointed guides to lead the way, so that the marches might be made with the greatest celerity. In ordinary cases eight kos would be one day's march, but under his arrangements, twelve kos or even more were accomplished. The army arrived on the banks of the Biyah, made the transit of that river, and reached Lahore on the banks of the Ravi. He there showed great energy and bravery in pushing forward the expedition, and incited the Sultan and the nobles to be earnest for the repulse of the infidel

Mughals.

On Monday, 25th Shaban, 643 H. (Nov. 1245), intelligence was brought to the royal camp that the infidel Mughals had raised the siege of Uchh. The reason of their retreat was that Ulugh Khan (when he reached the Biyah) had sent forward messengers bearing letters from the Sultan addressed to the garrison of the fort, announcing the approach of the royal army, and dilating upon the vast numbers of the soldiers and elephants and the great valour and spirit of the forces which followed the royal standards. He also sent forward an advance force to reconnoitre. When the messengers came near Uchh, some of the letters fell into the hands of the accursed warriors, and some reached the garrison of the fort. The drums were beaten in the fort to announce the joy of the besieged. The contents of the letters and the approach of the army of Islam became fully known to the accursed foe and the horsemen of the advanced force were in the vincinity of Sindh, on the banks of Biyah of Lahore. Fear and dismay fell upon the hearts of the accursed and the goodness of God

^{135 (}In the memoir the title "Khakan-i Muazzam" is generally employed, but for the sake of uniformity and simplicity I have substituted "Ulugh Khan").

lent its aid (to the forces of Islam). Trusty men record that when Mankuti heard of the approach of the army of Islam under the royal standard, that it had proceeded by the river Biyah, near the skirts of the hills, and that it was advancing along the banks of the river, he made enquiry of a party (of prisoners) why the army of Islam marched along the bases of the mountains, for that route was long, and the way by Sarsuti and Marut (Mirat?) was nearer? He was answered that the numerous fissures on the banks of the river rendered the way impassable for the army. 137

The answer convinced Mankuti that he had not sufficient strength to withstand the approaching army, and that he must retreat. Panic obtained mastery over him and his forces, so that they could no longer retain their position. He divided his army into three bodies and fled. Many Musulman and Hindu prisoners obtained their freedom. This victory is attributable to the activity, bravery and strategy of Ulugh Khan; but for him the victory would not have been gained (may the Almighty keep him safe under his protection!)

After the achievement of this victory Ulugh Khan advised that the royal army should march towards the river Sodra¹³⁸ in order to impress the minds of the enemy with the great power, bravery and numbers of the army of Islam. So the army proceeded to the banks of the Sodra, and from thence, on the 27th Shawwal 643 H., it returned to Dehli, which city it reached on Monday, 12th Zi-l hijja 643 H. (May 1246).

136 "bar kinar-i ab mi ayad."

The text is far from intelligible, and is apparently contradictory. The royal forces are said to have marched along the banks of the river, although that route is declared to have been impracticable. The whole passage is omitted from H. Elliot's MS.

138 The Chinab.

For some time past the mind of Sultan 'Alau-d din had been alienated from the nobles, he was seldom visible to the army, and besides this he was given up to depravity. The nobles all agreed to write secretly from Dehli to Nasiru-d dunya wau-d din, inviting him to set up his pretensions to the throne. On Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 (June 1246) he came to Dehli and sat upon the seat of empire. The Khutaba was read and the coin of the realm was struck in the auspicious name of Nasir. So Ulugh Khan represented how the accursed foe had in the previous year fled before the armies of Islam, and had gone to the upper parts (taraf-i bala). It now seemed advisable that the royal army should proceed in that direction. This advice was approved and orders were given for the march. On Monday, the 1st Rajab, 644 H., the army set forth and proceeded to the river Sodia. Here Ulugh Khan was detached with sevral nobles and generals to make an incursion into the hills of Jud. The Rana of these hills had acted as guide to the infidel Mughals, and it was now determined to take vengeance. Ulugh Khan accordingly attacked the hills of Jud, and the countries on the Jailam, and led his forces as far as the banks of the Indus. All the women and dependants of the infidels which were in those parts were obliged to flee and a party of the Mughal army crossed over the Jailam and saw the forces which were arrayed under the command of Ulugh Khan. The mainfold lines of the army, the number of horse, the armour and the arms, filled the observers with wonder and dismay. The bravery and generalship which Ulugh Khan displayed in scaling the mountains, breaking through defiles, capturing fortified places, and crossing jungles, cannot be described in writing. The fame of this campaign extended to Turkistan. There was no husbandry or agriculture in this country, and fodder became unobtainable. Hence he was compelled to retire, and he returned victorious

and triumphant to the royal camp, bringing back all

his officers and troops in safety.

On Thursday, 6th Zi-l ka'da, his majesty returned to the capital, which he reached on Thursday, 2nd Muharram, 645 H. The perseverance and resolution of Ulugh Khan had been the means of showing to the army of Turkistan and the Mughals such bravery and generalship that in the course of this year no one came from the upper parts towards Sindh. So Ulugh Khan represented to his Majesty, in the month of Sha'ban, that the opportunity was favourable for making an expedition into Hindustan. The Mawas and Ranas¹³⁹ had not been pinched for several years, but some coercion might now be exercised on them, by which spoil would fall into the hands of the soldiers of Islam, and wealth would be gained to strengthen the hands of the State in resisting the Mughals. The royal armies accordingly marched to Hindustan, passing down the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna. After some fighting, the fort of Nandana140 was captured, and Ulugh Khan was sent with some other generals and a Muhammadan force to oppose Dalaki wa Malaki. This was a Rana in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kalinjar and Kara, over whom the Rais of Kalinjar and Malwa had no authority. He had numerous followers and ample wealth; he ruled wisely; his fortresses were strong and secure: in his territories the defiles were arduous, the mountains rugged, and the jungles many. No Muhammadan army had ever penetrated to his dwelling place. When Ulugh Khan reached his abode, the Rana took such care for the safety of himself and his family, that he kept quiet from the dawn till the time of evening prayer, and when it grew dark he fled to some secure place. At daybreak, the Muhammadan army entered his abode,

^{139 &}quot;mawasat wa Ranagan."
140 Var. "Talanda" and "Talsanda." See supra.

and then pursued him, but the accursed infidel had escaped into the lofty mountains, to an inaccessible spot impossible to reach except by stratagem, and the use of ropes and ladders. Ulugh Khan incited his soldiers to the attempt, and, under his able direction, they succeeded in taking the place. All the infidel's wives, dependants, and children fell into the hands of the victors with much cattle, many horses and slaves. Indeed, the spoil that was secured exceeded all computation. At the beginning of Shawwal 645 H. (Feb. 1248), the force returned to the royal camp with their booty, and after Id-i azha' the whole army marched towards the capital, which it reached on the 4th Muharram, 646 H. (April 1248). A full poetical account of this campaign, in which the several victories are recounted, has been composed; the book is called Nasiri nama.¹⁴¹

In Sha'ban, 646 H. (Nov. 1248), the royal army marched through the upper country to the neighbourhood of the Biyah, and then returned to the capital. Ulugh Khan with several nobles under him, was sent with an ample force towards Rantambhor, to overrun the mountains of Mewat and the country of Bahar-deo, who was the greatest of the Rais of Hindustan. He ravaged the whole of those territories and gained a large booty. Malik Bahau-d din Aibak was slain under the fort of Rantambhor, on Sunday, in the month of Zi-l hijja 646, while Ulugh Khan was engaged fighting in another quarter. The Khan's soldiers showed great courage and fought well; they sent many of the infidels to the hell, and secured great spoil; after which they returned to the capital.

On Monday, 3rd Safar, 647 H. (May, 1249), they arrived at Dehli. In the course of this year his majesty was pleased to recognize the great ability and distinguished services of his general. He therefore promo-

¹⁴¹See supra.

ted him from the rank of a Malik and the office of the lord chamberlain to the dignity of a Khan, and on Tuesday, 3rd Rajab, 647 H., he named him lieutenant of the government, army, and royal fortune (bakhtiyari), with the title of Ulugh Khan. The truth of the adage that "the worth of titles is revealed by heaven," was proved in this case, for from that day forth the services of Ulugh Khan to the house of Nasir became still more conspicuous. When he was thus promoted, his brother Kishli Khan Aibak, master of the horse, became lord chamberlain. He was a nobleman of kind and generous character, and endowed with many virtues. Malik Taju-d din Sanjar, Tabar Khan, became deputy of the lord chamberlain, and my excellent dear son 'Alau-d din Ayyaz Tabor Khan Zanjani143 who was Amiru-l hujjab (superintendent of the royal door-keepers), was made deputy wakildar. These appointments were made on Friday, 6th Rajab 647, and Ikhtiyaru-d din Itigin, the long-haired, who had been deputy, now became master of the horse.

On Monday, 9th Sha'ban, 647 H. (Nov. 1249) the royal army left the capital and took the field. Passing over the Jumna it encamped and engaged in operations against the Mawas. (Matters personal of the author

see elsewhere).

On Tuesday, 25th Sha'ban, 649 H. (Nov. 1251) the royal army marched towards Malwa and Kalinjar. When Ulugh Khan arrived there with the army of Islam. he defeated Jahir of Ijari, a great rana, who had a large army and many adherents, and destroyed both him and his kingdom. This Jahir, rana of Ijari, was an active and able man. In the reign of Sa'id Shamsu-d din in the year 632 H. (1234) the army

¹⁴² Many lines of eulogy are here compressed into this short but adequate statement. 143 Var. "Rihani."

of Islam was sent from Bayana Sultan-kot, Kanauj, Mahr, Mahawan and Gwalior, against Kalinjar and Jamu, under the command of Malik Nusratu-d din Tabasi, who was distinguished above all the generals of the time for courage, boldness, ability, and generalship. The army marched on fifty days from Gwalior, and great booty fell into its hands, so much that the imperial fifth amounted to nearly twenty-two lacs. When they returned from Kalinjar they were encountered by this Rana of Ijari, who seized upon the defiles on the river Sindi in the road of the returning army. The author heard Nusratu-d din Tabasi say, "No enemy in Hindustan had ever seen my back, but this Hindu fellow of Ijari attacked me as a wolf falls upon a flock of sheep. I was obliged to retire before him until I reached a position where I turned upon him and drove him back." I tell this story so that my readers may clearly perceive what courage and generalship Ulugh Khan exhibited when he defeated and put to flight such a foe. He further took from him the fortress of Bazor144 and his conduct and feats in this campaign will stand as a lasting memorial of him.

On Monday, 23rd Rabi'u-l awwal, 650 H. (June, 1252), the army returned to Dehli and remained there for six months. On the 12th Shawwal of the same year, it marched through the upper country to the banks of the Biyah. At this time Malik Balban held the fief of Badaun, and Katlagh Khan that of Bayana. They were both summoned to the royal presence, and both attended with all the generals of the army at the royal abode. When the army reached the banks of the Biyah, 'Imadud din Rihan conspired with other chiefs, and excited envy and enmity against Ulugh Khan. The envious found their own importance dimmed by his glory, and they resolved to do some hurt and injury to his august

¹⁴⁴ Var. "Bazol", "Barole." See note, supra.

person, either in hunting, in passing through mountain defiles, or in crossing rivers. Ulugh Khan's good fortune preserved him, and his adversaries were unable to do him any harm. When the conspirators found that their plans were ineffectual, they agreed upon another course, and presenting themselves at the doors of the royal tent, urged upon his majesty that Ulugh Khan ought to be sent to his estates. The result of all this was that the order was given to him indirectly.¹⁴⁵

On Saturday, the new moon of Muharram, 651 H., Ulugh Khan proceeded to Hansi, with his followers and family. When the Sultan reached Dehli, the thorn of envy, which still festered in the malicious heart of Rihan, inpelled him to recommend his majesty to send Ulugh Khan to Nagor, and to give the country of Hansi to one of the royal princes. His majesty acordingly went to Hansi, and the Khan removed to Nagor. This happened in Jumada-l akhir 651 H. On his departure for Hansi, 'Imadu-d din Rihan became wakildar¹⁴⁶ and the administration of the royal orders passed into his hands.

Through the envy and malignity of the new minister, the office of Kazi of the State was taken from the author, Minhaj, in Rajab, 651, and given to Kazi Shamsu-d din Bahraichi. On returning to the capital, on the 17th Shawwal, Malik Saifu-d din Kishli Khan, brother of Ulugh Khan, was sent to his estates of Karra, and 'Izzu-d din Balban, son-in-law of Katlagh Khan, was appointed to the charge of the office of lord chamberlain. All the officers who had been appointed through the interest of Ulugh Khan were removed, and the business and quietude of the State were disturbed, all through the machinations of Imadu-d din.

this was brought about in a left-handed way."

146 See note, supra.

At this period, when Ulugh Khan (May God prolong his reign!) went to Nagor, he led a Muhammadan force in the direction of Rantambhor, Hindi and Chitror. Bahar Deo, Rai of Rantambhor, the greatest of the Rais, and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindustan, assembled an army to inflict a blow on Ulugh Khan. But it was the will of God that the name of the Khan should be celebrated for his victories in the annals of the time, and although the Rai's army was large and well appointed with arms and horses, it was put to flight, and many of its valiant fighting men were sent to hell. The Musulmans obtained great spoil and captured many horses and prisoners (burda). They then returned safe with their booty to Nagor, which, in consequence of Ulugh Khan's presence, had become a place of great importance.

At the opening of the year 651 H., the numerous people who had suffered oppression and hardship through the disgrace of Ulugh Khan retired to their closets, and like fish out of water, and sick men without slumber. from night till morn, and from morn till night, they offered up their prayers to the Creator, supplicating him to let the dawn of Ulugh Khan's prosperity break forth in splendour, and dispel with its brilliant light the gloom occasioned by his rival Rihan. The Almighty graciously gave ear to the prayers of the wretched, and the cries of the distressed. The victorious banners of Ulugh Khan were borne from Nagore, and he went to the capital. The reason of his return was this. The nobles and servants of the State were all Turks of pure origin and Taziks of good stock, but 'Imadu-d din was an eunuch and impotent; he, moreover, belonged to one of the tribes of Hindustan. Notwithstanding all this he exercised authority over the heads of all these chiefs. They were disgusted with this state of affairs and could no longer endure it. They suffered so much from the hands of the bullies who were retained by 'Imadu-d din

that for six months they could not leave their houses, nor could they even go to prayers on Fridays. How was it possible for Turks and Maliks, accustomed to power, rule, and warfare, to remain quiet under such ignominy? The chiefs of Hindustan, of Karra, Manikpur, Oudh and the upper country to Badaun, of Tabarhindh, Sanam, Samana, and the Siwalik Hills, sent to Ulug Khan inviting him to return. Arslan Khan led an army out of Tabarhindh, Ban Khan, come forth from Sanam and Mansurpur, and Ulugh Khan collected his forces in Nagor and the Siwalik hills. Malik Jalalu-d din Masud Shah bin Sultan joined them from Lahore, and they

marched upon the capital.

'Imadu-d din advised his majesty to go forth and repress the malcontents, and accordingly he led his army towards Sanam. Ulugh Khan was in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindh with several other chiefs. The author of this book started from the capital for the royal camp, which was stationed in the city near the royal residence. On Monday, 26th Ramazan, 652 H., he arrived, and on the "Night of Power" he read prayers in the King's abode. On the next day, 27th Ramazan, the opposing armies drew near to each other, the outposts met, and great disquietude arose. The 'Id-i fitr was passed at Sanam, and on Saturday, 8th Shawwal, the royal army fell back to Hansi. Malik Jalalu-d din, Ulugh Khan, and the nobles with them proceeded to Kaithal. The chiefs and nobles on both sides deemed it desirable to hold a parley. General Karra Jamak, a personal attendant of Ulugh Khan, and well-known for his integrity, acted on the part of the insurgents; and the noble of the black banner, Hisamu-d din Katlagh, wellknown for his great age. a man of conciliatory character and great probity, was deputed to meet him. He exerted himself to the utmost with General Karra Jamak and Malik-i Islam Kutbu-d din Hasan 'Ali.

The discontented nobles represented to his majesty

that they were all willing to obey his commands, but that they had no security against the machinations and outrageous conduct of 'Imadu-d din Rihan. If he were banished from the Court they would all submit and willingly obey the orders of the Sultan. The royal army marched from Hansi to Jind, and on Saturday, 22nd Shawwal 652 H. 'Imadu-d din was dismissed from his office of minister (thanks to God for it!) and the privileges attaching to the government of Badaun were given to him.

'Izzu-d din Balban, deputy of the lord chamberlain, repaired to the camp of Ulugh Khan, and on Tuseday, 3rd Zi-l ka'da, Ban Khan Aibak Khitai came to the royal camp to finally arrange the terms of peace. An extraordinary plot was now formed, with which the author of this book became acquainted. 'Imadu-d din Khan with a number of Truks of low degree, and inimical to Ulugh Khan resolved cutting down Ban Khan Aibak Khitai at the entrance of the royal tent, in order that Ulugh Khan, on hearing of the assassination, might (in retaliation) slay 'Izzu-d din Balban. The peace would thus be prevented, 'Imadu-d din would retain his position in safety, and Ulugh Khan would be unable to to come to Court. Kutbu-d din Hasan heard of the conspiracy, and sent one of the chief attendants of the chamberlain, Sharfu-l mulk Rashidu-d din Hanafi, to Ban Khan, advising him not to go to the royal tent in the morning, but to remain at his own lodging. Ban Khan acted on this advice, and so the plot failed. The facts became known to the great men, and under the command of the Sultan, 'Imadu-d din was sent off to Badaun.

On Tuesday, 17th Zi-l ka'da, his majesty with the desire of making peace, directed the author, Minhaj Siraj, to offer terms of agreement to all. Next day, Ulugh Khan, with the other nobles, came to Court, and had the honour of kissing hands. The Sultan then

returned homewards, accompanied by Ulugh Khan, and reached the capital on Wednesday, 9th Zi-l hijja. The kindness of the Almighty now became manifest. For a long time there had been no rain, but upon the approach of Ulugh Khan the Almighty displayed his mercy, and the rain, which is the life of herbs and plants, of men and animals, fell upon the earth. No wonder, then, that people looked upon the return of Ulugh Khan as a happy omen, that his compeers rejoiced over it, and that all were grateful to the Almighty for

his bounty.

The year 653 H. opened. Something happened in the royal harem of which no one had accurate knowledege, but Katlagh Khan147 was directed to take charge of the government of Oudh., and thither he proceeded. At the same time the government of Bahraich was given to 'Imadu-d din Rihan. The success of Ulugh Khan shone forth with brilliant radiance, the garden of the world began to put forth leaf, and the key of divine mercy opened the door of the hearts of men who had been driven into seclusion. Among these was the wellwisher of the State and the partisan of Ulugh Khan, the writer of this book, Minhaj Siraj Juzjani. The censure of his adversaries, and the injustice of his foes, had forced him into retirement and had subjected him to distress and trouble; but now the kind influence of Ulugh Khan was exerted with the Sultan, and on Sunday, 5th Rabi'u-l awwal, 653 H. the office of Kazi of the State and the seat of justice were given for the third time to the faithful and grateful writer of this history.

Katlagh Khan had gone to Oudh, and some time passed, but circumstances so occurred that he became disaffected. Imperative orders were several times sent to him from Court, but to these he paid no heed. Imadu-d din Rihan busied himself in stirring up strife

¹⁴⁷ Step-father of the Sultan, see elsewhere.

and endeavoured by intrigue and deceit to throw the dirt of his wretched selfish plots on the prosperity of Ulugh Khan, and to cloud the glory of that Khakan with with the emanations of his malice. But "Divine mercy is for ever sufficient," and it prevented the success of these schemes. Malik Taju-d din Sanjar had been confined in prison by Katlag Khan. The government of Bahraich had been granted to Sanjar, and this was the reason of his imprisonment. By a bold contrivance he escaped from Oudh out of the hands of his oppressors, and crossing the river Saru148 in a boat, he proceeded with a few horsemen to Bahraich. Under the decrees of fate the fortune of the Turks now triumphed, and the power of the Hindus was levelled with the dust. 'Imadu-d din was defeated and taken prisoner, and put to death in Bahraich, in the month of Rajab, 653 H. With him Katlagh Khan's fortune declined.

When these disturbances arose in Hindustan, several of the chief nobles of the Court were drawn away from their allegiance and it became necessary to put down the insurrection and to punish the disaffected nobles. The army accordingly left Dehli, on the new moon of Shawwal, 653 H. (December, 1255), and marching towards Hindustan it reached Tilibhat149 (Pilibhit?). Delay had occurred in assembling the forces of the Siwalik hills. These mountains were included in the government of Ulugh Khan, so he hastened to Hansi. He arrived there on the 17th Zi-l ka'da, and so exerted himself that in fourteen days the soldiers of the Siwalik, of Hansi, Sarsuti, Jind, Barwala, and all those parts were collected, and marched to Dehli in great force, and well equipped, where they arrived on the 3rd Zi-l hijja. Ulugh Khan remained in Dehli eighteen days, recruiting and refitting the army of Mewat and the Koh-paya (hills). On the 19th Zi-l hijja he marched with a brave

¹⁴³ The Sarju or Gogra.
149 Var. "Talpat."

and well-equipped army to the royal camp, and reached Oudh in the month of Muharram 654 H. Katlagh Khan and the nobles who were leagued with him were all subjects of the Sultan, but adverse circumstances had led them to revolt. From Oudh they retreated over the river Saru, and by royal command Ulugh Khan pursued them with a strong force. They had, however, got a good start, the jungles were dense, the ways difficult, and the trees numerous, so he could not come up with them. He advanced as far as Bishanpur, on the confines of Tirhut, plundering all the Mawas and Ranas, and returned with great spoil to the royal camp. When Ulugh Khan crossed the Saru from Oudh on his return from the pursuit, his Majesty marched towards the capital, and Ulugh Khan joined the royal army at Kasmandi. On Tuesday, 6th Rabi'u-l awwal, 654 H., they arrived at Dehli.

Katlagh Khan had found no place in Hindustan where he could make a stand, so in the midst of the campaign he proceeded towards Santur, and strengthened himself in the hills of that country. The chiefs paid him every respect, for he was a noble of high rank, a grandee of the Court, and one of the principal Turks. He had, therefore, strong claims upon his compeers, and wherever he went he was treated with great consideration.

He made himself secure in the hills of Santur, and there he was joined by the Rana Debal (Deopal) Hindi, who held a prominent rank among the Hindus, and the custom of whose tribe was to afford a refuge to the fugitive. When intelligence of this junction reached the royal camp, the army marched towards Santur, at the beginning of Rabiu-l awwal, 655 H. Ulugh Khan, with the royal army and some officers of the court, by great exertions made his way into the hills with much fighting and seized upon the passes and defiles. He penetrated as far as Salmur, a fort and district belonging to

that great Rai. All the Ranas of these parts recognized the Rai as their superior and paid him respect. He fled before Ulugh Khan, and the city and markets of Salmur all fell into the hands of the army of Islam. By the favour of God the soldiers of Ulugh Khan thus subdued a place which the armies of Islam had never before reached and they returned laden with plunder to the capital, where they arrived on the 5th Rabi'u-l akhir, 655 H.

When the royal army had returned to Dehli, Katlagh Khan issued from the mountains of Salmur, and Malik Kishlu Khan Balban came from Sindh to the banks of the Biyah, where the two chiefs joined their forces150 and marched towards Samana and Kahram, taking possession of the country. To put down this confederacy and revolt the Sultan sent Ulugh Khan, Kishli Khan, and several other nobles. Ulugh Khan left Dehli on Thursday, 15th Jumada-l awwal, 655 (May 1257), and hastened with all speed to Kaithal. Katlagh Khan was in the vicinity and the two armies approached each other. Here they were all brothers and friendstwo armies of one government.151 Such an extraordinary state of affairs had never occurred. The antagonists were like coins from one purse, or salt from one cup, and yet the accursed devil had produced such discussion among them. . . . Ulugh Khan deemed it expedient to detach the household troops from the main army, and he placed them under the command of Sher Khan, his cousin. The main body with the elephants he put under the command of his own brother, Kishli Khan, lord chamberlain. Two distinct divisions were thus formed.

150 This line, given in Sir H. Elliot's MS, is absent

from the printed text.

peating the statement four times, and using different words for army and government.

The opposing armies drew near to each other in the vicinity of Samana and Kaithal, and their lines were within view on either side. Just at this juncture some meddlesome servants of the Court at Dehli wrote letters to Malik Balban and Malik Katlagh Khan, inviting them to come to the capital. The city they said was empty of soldiers, and the gates were in their own hands, while the nobles whom they addressed were servants of the State, and no strangers. They ought to come at once and resume their service of the Sultan. Ulugh Khan with his army would remain outside, and everything would turn out as they wished. All that had been represented might be easily accomplished. Some faithful adherents of the throne and partizans of Ulugh Khan got notice of this plot, and they sent off intelligence with all speed to Ulugh Khan. He advised the Sultan to turn all the conspirators out of the city. A full account of this conspiracy has been given in the history of the reign of Nasiru-d din. (God forgive them and lead them to repent of their wickedness!)

While the two armies were confronting each other, a person¹⁵² came over as a spy from the camp of Malik Balban Kishlu Khan, representing that he came on behalf of the chiefs and nobles who were with Malik Balban, and who were desirious of joining Ulugh Khan. If a promise of immunity and fair treatment were given to them, and a grant made for the support of the bearer of these overtures, he would bring over all the chiefs and nobles who were with Balban, and would arrange

matters in respect of other officers.

Ulugh Khan, on perceiving the intentions of this person, gave orders that the whole of the army should be shown to him. Accordingly all the troops and muni-

¹⁵² The author here deals in irony, and says "a person called so and so, the son of so and so." The man was evidently well-known.

tions and implements of war, with the elephants and horses, were displayed before his eyes. The Khan then directed a letter to be written to the chiefs and nobles in the following terms: "Your letter has reached me and its import has been understood. I have no doubt that if you make your submission grants will be made to you all, and your maintenance will be most amply provided for; but if you take a different course, then, on this very day, the world shall learn how your pretensions will be settled by the wounds of the trenchant sword and the flaming spear, and how you will be carried, fettered with the bonds of fate, to the foot of the royal standard." This letter, half sweet half bitter, half venom half lotion, half courtesy half severity, was written and delivered to that man and he returned.

When the letter was delivered to the officers of Balban the wise among them perceived its drift, and knew that the dissensions between the nobles and generals would be settled elsewhere (yakja). Fresh letters now arrived from Dehli, and Malik Balbhan and Katlagh Khan set forth in that direction and showed no intention of returning. Two days afterwards Ulugh Khan became aware of their design, and his mind was troubled as to what might happen to the throne and capital. After this extraordinary incident letters reached him (from Dehli) and he turned thither, safe under the protection of the Almighty, and reached the city on Monday, 10th Jumada-l awwal, 653.

For seven months Ulugh Khan remained tranquil in the capital, when intelligence arrived that the army of the infidel Mughals had made a descent upon Sindh, under the command of Salin Nawin. When their general brought in this army, Malik Balban went to them of necessity, and the forces¹⁵³ of the fort of Multan

printed text has "kungurha, battlements," which makes

fell back. When the news reached the capital, Ulugh Khan advised his Majesty to set the royal army in motion and accordingly it marched forth on the 2nd Muharram, 656 H. (9th January 1259), and encamped within the sight of the city. Orders were sent to all parts of the kingdom, directing the nobles and officers to collect all the forces they could, and to join the army. On the 10th Muharram, the author received orders in the royal tent to compose an ode, to stir up the feelings of the Muhammadans and to excite in them a warlike fervour for the defence of their religion and the throne.

Ulugh Khan, with a numerous and well-appointed army, marched in company with his majesty and all the nobles, attended by their followers. When the infidel Mughal heard of this host on the frontier he had assailed, he advanced no further and showed no spirit. It seemed expedient, therefore, for the royal army to remain within sight of the city (of Dehli), and it remained encamped for four months or longer, while horsemen went in all directions, making war upon the Mawas. At length the news came that the accursed foe

had retreated, and all disquietude on his account was at an end.

The reporters now informed Ulugh Khan that Arslan Khan Sanjar in Oudh, and Kalij Khan Mas'ud Khani had taken alarm at the orders which they had received to join the royal camp, and were meditating revolt. Ulugh Khan advised his Majesty to nip this project in the bud, and to smother their intentions before they had time to form and gather strength. The advice was approved, although it was the hot season and

the passage to say that "the battlements of the fort of Multan fell down." The whole of it is obscure. "wa malik Balban chun shahana-i un jumaat aurdeh bud bizarurat nazdik-i ishan raft wa kangarhiae multan farm raftand."

the army had undergone fatigue through the inroad of the Mughals. On Tuesday, 6th Jumada-l akhir, the royal forces marched towards Hindustan, and came to the neighbourhood of Karra and Manikpur. Ulugh Khan exerted himself most strenuously in punishing the rebellious Hindus and Ranas.

Upon the arrival of Ulugh Khan, the two confederates, Arslan Khan and Kalij Khan, parted, and were obliged to send their families and dependants among the Mawas. They also deputed some trusty persons to wait on Ulugh Khan and prevail upon him to inform the Sultan that they had been obliged to disperse their followers, and that they were ready to promise that they would both repair to the capital, and do homage as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. Upon this representation the forces were re-called and reached the capital on Monday, 2nd Ramazan, 656. Arslan Khan and Kalij Khan repaired to Court, and Ulugh Khan exerted himself so generously and strenuously in their behalf154 that their rebellion was forgiven, and in the course of two months Kalij Khan was appointed to the government of Lakhnauti, and Arslan Khan to Karra.

On the '13th Muharram, at the beginning of the new year, 657 (January 1259), the royal forces again marched from Dehli. Ulugh Khan now very properly used his influence in favour of his nephew Sher Khan, and on Sunday, 21st Safar, all the territories of Bayana, Kol, Jalesar, and Gwalior were consigned to him. There was nothing to require the action of the army during the rest of the year. On Wednesday, 4th Jumada-l akhir, treasure, wealth, and many valuables with two elephants, were brought to Court from Lakhnauti. These presents were sent by 'Izzu-d din Balban Uzbek, who was grantee of Lakhnauti, and by the influence of Ulugh

¹⁵⁴ Translation greatly compressed.

Khan the grant was confirmed and honours were bestow-

ed upon him.

At the beginning of 658 H. (December, 1259) Ulugh Khan resolved upon a campaign in the hills near the capital. These hills were inhabited by a turbulent people, who committed depredations on the roads, plundered the goods of Musulmans, drove away the cultivators, and ravaged the villages in the districts of Harriana, the Siwalik hills, and Bayana. Three years before they had carried off from Hansi a drove of camels and a number of the people of Ulugh Khan. Their chief was a Hindu named Malka, a fierce and desperate fellow. It was he who carried off the camels, and he fomented disturbances among the Hindus from the hills to Rantambhor. But when he did these things the army was otherwise engaged, and the soldiers and followers of Ulugh Khan had not the means of transporting their baggage and implements. Ulugh Khan and all the princes and nobles were sorely vexed, but it was then impossible to do anything, as the army was fully employed in repelling the Mughal forces, which had attacked the frontiers of Islam in Sindh, at Lahore, and in the vicinity of the river Biyah. At length ambassadors to the Sultan came to Khurasan from 'Irak, on the part of Hulaku Mughal, son of Toli, son of Changiz Khan, and orders were given that the embassy was to halt at Maruta.155

Ulugh Khan and other nobles, with the royal troops and their own followers, suddenly resolved upon a campaign in the hills, and made the first march in advance on Monday, 4th Safar, 658. In their first forced march (kashish) they accomplished nearly fifty kos, and fell unexpectedly upon the rebels. These retreated to the summits of the mountains, to the defiles, to deep gorges and narrow valleys, but they were all taken and put to

the sword. For twenty days the troops traversed the hills in all directions. The villages and habitations of the mountaineers were on the summits of the loftiest hills and rocks, and were of great strength, but they were all taken and ravaged by order of Ulugh Khan, and the inhabitants who were thieves, robbers, and highwaymen were all slain. A silver tanka was offered for every head, and two tankas for every man brought in alive. Eager for these rewards the soldiers climbed the highest hills, and penetrated the ravines and deepest gorges, and brought in heads and captives; especially the Afghans, a body of whom, amounting to three thousand horse and foot, was in the service of Ulugh Khan. These men were very bold and daring, and in fact the whole army, nobles and chiefs, Turks and Taziks, exhibited great bravery, and their feats will remain recorded in history. Fortune now so favoured Ulugh Khan that he was able to penetrate to a fastness which no Musulman army had ever reached, and that Hindu rebel who had carried off the camels was taken prisoner with his children and dependants. Two hundred and fifty of the chiefs of the rebels were captured. One hundred and forty-two horses were led away to the royal stables, and six bags of tankas amounting to thirty thousand tankas were taken from the Ranas of the hills and the Rais of Sind and sent to the royal treasury.

In the course of twenty days this great work was accomplished, and the army returned to the capital on the 24th Rabi'u-l awwal, 658. His Majesty with a great retinue of chiefs and nobles, came forth to the plain of Hauz-rani to meet him, and a grand Court was held in which many honours and rewards were bestowed. 156 After a stay of two days in the capital the Court went

¹⁵⁶ The author here becomes very diffuse in his descriptions and praises, which are not worth translation.

forth again to Hauz-rani on a mission of revenge. The elephants were prepared and the Turks made ready their trenchant swords. By royal command many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants, and the fierce Turks cut the bodies of the Hindus in two. About a hundred met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw, and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The plain of Hauz-rani and the gates of Dehli remembered no punishment like this, nor had any one ever heard such a tale of horror.

Ulugh Khan now represented to the Sultan that the Mughal ambassador in Khurasan should be brought to Court and be granted an interview. On Wednesday, 7th Rabi'u-l awwal, the Court proceeded to the Kushk-i sabz (green palace) and Ulugh Khan gave orders for armed men to be collected from all quarters round Dehli to the number of two hundred thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, with banners and accoutrements. Great numbers of armed men of all ranks went out of the city, and assembled in the new city of Kilu-ghari, at the royal residence, where they were drawn up shoulder to shoulder in twenty lines.

. . . When the ambassadors arrived, and their eyes fell on this vast multitude, they were stricken with fear, and it is certain that on seeing the elephants some of them fell from their horses. On the ambassadors entering the city they were received with the greatest honour, and were conducted before the throne with the highest possible ceremony. The palace was decked out in the most splendid array, and all the princes and nobles and officers attended in gorgeous dresses. A poem written by the author of this work was recited before the throne. I here insert it. . . . After the reception the ambassadors were conducted in great state to the place appointed for their abode.157

¹⁵⁷ Here follows a long digression of no interest.

Let us return to the thread of our history. The last event which I have to record is this. When Ulugh Khan carried war into the hills, and punished the rebels in the way we have related, a number of them escaped by flight. They now again took to plundering on the highways, and murdering Musulmans, so that the roads became dangerous. This being reported to the Khan, he sent emissaries and spies to find out the places where the rebels had taken refuge, and to make a full report of their state and condition. On Monday, 24th Rajab, 658 (July, 1260), he marched from Dehli with his own forces, the main army, and the forces of several chiefs. He hastened towards the hills, and accomplishing more than fifty kos in one day's journey (!)158 he fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, to the number of twelve thousand-men, women, and childrenwhom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to God for this victory of Islam!

^{158 &}quot;yak manzil biqadar panjah karwah ziadat biraft."

EXAMINATION OF MAJOR RAVERTY'S CRITICISMS OF THE TABAKAT-I NASIRI

In the Publishers' Note an extract has been reproduced from the Preface to Vol. VIII of the original edition of this works. It refers to Major Raverty's criticisms of the Tabakat-i Nasiri. They are here noticed and examined seriatim.

Major Raverty begins the section relating to the Ghaznivides with a note condemning the text printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica" and the MSS. belonging to the Indian Office and the Royal Asiatic Society. These MSS., according to Major Raverty, "are the most defective and incorrect of any" he has "collated." The Editor of this work used the MS. of the Asiatic Society and one belonging to Sir H. Elliot, but they were inferior to the printed edition, and so the latter was the text used. Major Raverty has collected thirteen MSS., and they may have all the excellences which he attributes to them, but the fullest MSS, are not always the best. The interplotations of ignorant or half-informed scribes are worse than omissions—for they lead astray and bewilder the reader. These MSS., however, have cleared away some errors in the texts that I used. and I have gladly adopted such new readings as seem to be improvements.

1.—Page 68. The opening of the history of Subuktigin gives Major Raverty occasion for a long and laboured note. The translation he gives of the passage is as follows: "He had heard that his (Subuktigin's) father used to be called by the name of Kara Bah-Kam; and that this (proper) name was Hulk; and that Gharghau in the Turkish language is called Bah-Kam; and that the meaing of Kara Bah-Kam would be the Block

Tatar Bull."

Here is the obvious that the sentence about ghar-ghau is altogether superflous, and it may be blotted out without making any difference in the sense of the passage. This can hardly have been the intention of the author. The original words as given in the printed text are—

shanid ki pidar-i Subuktigin ra quara bihukm guftandi wa namash jauq buvad wa ghaughara biturki bihukm khwanand wa maani quara bihukm Siyah ghaugha bashad

Major Raverty gives the variants of eleven MSS. The differences are only in the words here given as jauk and ghaugha. He adopts the form Huk in preference to juk. After running through all the variants of the other word, he comes to the conclusion that "the word must be ghajz-ghao," although the form ghajz never once occurs, and then, by arbitrarily changing the ghain of ghao into gaf he brings forth his "Black Tatar Bull." Then comes his criticism "In Elliot1 the the passage in question is thus translated. 'His (Subuktigin's) father was called jauk (troop), and in Turki they call a troop bahkam (on whose authority I wonder?), so that the meaning of the name Kara-bahkam is black troop.' From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether both ashar ghalu of MSS. 10 and 11, and ghaugha of the printed text, and has given the person's Turkish real-name as the equivalent (the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed) of his Turkish nick-name; so according to this theory jauq means troop, and bihukm also means troop, but what becomes of the Persian siyah ghaugha etc., the translator sayeth not! Jauk however is Arabic for a party, a troop, etc., but what bihukm may means remains to be proved." It is unnecessary to follow him through the alterations of letters and the guesses by which he arrives at the conclusion that it means "Black Wolf," and supposes this

¹See Original Edition Vol. II. p. 266

to be in some way indentical with his "Black Tatar Bull."

The whole of Major Raverty's censure of the translation in Elliot evidently springs from his ignorance of the meaning of the word ghaugha, which among other meanings has that of "company, assembly, multitude of people." If he had consulted his dictionary, instead of indulging in guesses and alterations of letters, he would have seen that the printed text has a clear and coherent meaning, and that the translation which he censures is exact and complete, no word is omitted. The unintelligible words of the MS. have certainly been discarded. but in favour of the siyah

ghaugha of the print.

II.—In page 76 Major Raverty begins a long note about Waihind. In this he censures my rendering a passage of Rashidu-d din at p. 47. Vol. I., by "uniting near the fort of Diruna, (the waters) fall into the Nurokirat." Reinaud's rendering of the original passage in Biruni is, "Near the fort of Diruna it is joined by the waters of Nur and Kirat." This was unknown to me at the time. I had the Persian version, which might be rendered as "the river Nurokirat," or "the river of Nur and Kirat." Curiously enough, Major Raverty cites the Arabic version which decided my reading. The words are lanur wa qurat which he translates "into the river of Un Nur and Kirat." But if the first letter is the article un, where does he find "into"? The words say simply "into Nurokirat"; the word "river" is Major Raverty's addition. There can be no doubt that the Arabic translator understood his Persian original to mean "the river Nurokirat," and as the Persian text has that meaning, I made my translation so as to be in accord with both versions. Reinaud's translation of Biruni, "the waters of Nur and Kirat," shows that the Arabic translator of Rashidu-d din took a wrong, though justifiable, view of his text. and led me into error.

Raverty seems to be so well acquainted with "the darah of Nur" that it is a pity he did not describe it more distinctly. Sir H. M. Elliot's knowledge did not extend

beyond what this passage supplies.'

III.—Page 80. Major Raverty says: "In Vol. II. page 269 (Orig. Ed.) a passage is thus translated; On the same night that he (Mahmud) was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parshawar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down!!' There is nothing like giving a bold translation." The words of the text are—

dar un shab ki waladat-i-u buvad butkhana bahind ki dar hudud parshawar buvad bar lab ab-i sind bishikast

It would be difficult to make a more precise translation of this than the one above given. Major Raverty's translation is, "The idol temple of Wahand or Bihand (it may also be read Wahind or Bahind). which was situated on the confines of Barshabur, on the bank of the Sind, split asunder." This shows that the fault is in the text, not in the translator. If any MS. gives wahand instead of Bihand, that reading may be readily accepted; but in the absence of such reading, it would have been bold to alter the text.

IV.—Page 90. Major Raverty objects to the rendering of gharat-kardand by "destroyed" in the passage (Elliot, page 271), "Mas'ud ordered him to be made prisoner and his whole force to be destroyed." Gharat means "plunder," "hostile incursion," and the word "destroy" is too strong, though it is not to be supposed that the plundering could be effected without killing. Having expressed this censure. Major Raverty should have been careful to be accurate himself, and should not have made one word into two by translating gharat as "plundered and despoiled." In the same page he also object to "killed" as the translation of sahib-i Waki'ah, and say, the phrase does not mean killed. Waki'ah means both "misfortune" and "death," so that the words do mean "killed," and the transla-

tion was allowable; but as the man in question is mentioned afterwards, the translation should have been, "When Mas'ud fell into misfortune of Marikala."

V.—Page 91. The meaning which Major Raverty assigns to the word bel is probable, and although I can find no other authority for it, I have inserted it among the corrections.

VI .- 98. Major Raverty translates the words

by, "He was a depository of the oral traditions which he was wont to narrate," and adds a note: "Thanslated by Dowson (Elliot, p. 274), 'used to listen to chronicles and write history,' "As akhbar means, chronicles" and sama means "hearing," there is some warrant for the rendering, but how it is twisted into "a depository of the oral traditions," I am unable to discover. The word riwayat means "history, narrative, relation, tale," and any one of these may be added to the verb "he was wont to make." On reconsideration of the passage, I have come to the conclusion that as sama means "fame, report," as well as "hearing," the phrase may be more accurately rendered by, "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell."

VII.—Page 101. "Every copy of the work collated has, (with two exceptions, which have maraan the word murghan signifying 'birds.' etc., as plainly written as it is possible to write; but in the printed text masaraan has been substituted, and Dowson of course follows the printed text." As Dowson had only two inferior MSS., he certainly followed the intelligible print and gave the translation (Vol. II. p. 276) of "fleet messengers." He would have hesitated long before he converted murghan "birds," "fowls," into "carrier-pigeons," as Major Raverty has done.

VIII.—Page 102. "The original text is mawariz wa munat (not mutan,) which Dowson renders 'disease and murrain', and adds in a note. "The former words (sic)

means literally diseases, but it (sic) is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts.' Does munat also mean 'murrian' in the body politic?" The printed text has 'awariz o mutan, and I translated this (page 276) by "diseases and murrain," for which the dictionaries give full warrant. The words form one of those reiterative pharases of which the Persians are so fond. I knew nothing of munat, and now that I do, I prefer the text of the print and my own translation to Major Raverty's rendering, "(The levying) of heavy contributions in taxes ad supplies." The two sics which Major Raverty has inserted in his quotation are chracteristic. It is easy to be seen that by a printer's accident "word means" has been converted into "words mean."

IX.—Page 103. "Dowson translates (page 277): 'He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence aprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people." Major Raverty's rendering is, "Awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people." The difference is not very great; but I prefer my own rendering, and hold to it. Major Raverty quotes the text—badin sabab haibati az saltanat u dar dil-i khalq matmakun shud and has incorrectly written haibati for haibati.

X.—Page 104. Major Raverty translates the passage which stands in the print—chand bara wa qasba bana farmud by "he founded several towns." He adds a note: "In Elliot's India, vol. II., p. 277, this passage is translated, 'several fortified places and towns were founded,' " and expatiates upon the fact that "Kasbah does not means fortified places." The words are rightly translated, for barah means, "walls, fortifications," and kasbah means "towns."

XI.—In the same page 104, Major Raverty translatest the words—sadat karam wa ulamayi ba nam by "illustrious Saiyids and dignified Ulama." This had been rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 277) by "illustrious

nobles and learned men of repute." The difference is small, and quite unworthy of notice; but as it has been dragged forward, it may be remarked that one translation is partial, the other complete, and that ba-nam means "famous, having a name," rather than "dignified."

XII.—Page 106. Here Major Raverty has hit a real, but not an important blot. The sentence (Vol. 11. p. 278), "He restored to the nobles," should read "he

confirmed."

XIII.—Page 107. Major Raverty translates the opening sentence of the reign of Malik Arslan as follows: "Malik Arsalan-i 'Abdu-l Muluk, son of Sultan Mas'ud ascended the throne in the year 509 A.H. at Garmsir itself, and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznin." He adds the following note: "The original is bar khwud garmsir. The passage is translated in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 278) thus: 'Malik Arslan Abu-l M'alik (sic) ascended the throne A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115), and brought Garmsir and the kingdom of Ghazni under his rule.' I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznin?" The words of the text (p. 22) are mulk-i Arslan Abu al lauk dar sanna tasa wa khamsmayah bi mulk nishasht wa garm sir wa mamalik-i ghaznin dar tasrif-i khud dasht.

Those words will bear no other meaning than that assigned to them in Elliot, and Major Raverty might have seen that they accurately represent the text. Adopting for once his own style of criticism, I may say of his translation—I wonder of what empire it was that Malik Arslan assumed the sovereignty of, if it was not that of

Ghaznin?

XIV.—In page 318 Major Raverty translates the passage rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 284) "the inaccessibility of the maoutains of Rasiat, which are in Ghor." by "the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in Ghor." and he has a note: "The word rasiat is not a proper name, but the plural

of rasiah, which means 'strong mountains.' " The words of the printed text are hasanat jabal rasiyat and here the word is treated more like a proper than a common noun. A few lines lower the order of the words is reserved, and we have "rastat jibal." Johnsons's definition is "Rasiyat (pl. rawasi), firm (mountain)." He does not give rasiat, but he again explains his plural rawasi by "firm (mountains)." Meninski is fuller. He says Rasiyat is the faminine if Rasi, which he explains: "Firmus ac immitus presistens, uti mons." The translation in Elliot was made by a munshi, whose rendering was "hills of Rasiat." The munshi's word "hills" has been changed into "mountains" in Sir Henry Elliot's own hand so that the translation has the weight of his authority. The word rasiat is used in a curious way, but Major Raverty's explanation is worthy of consideration.

XV.—In page \$19 Major Raverty's MSS. enabled him to correct the words Faj Hanisar, which were given from the printed text in Elliot (page 285), into "Faj (defile, pass) of Khaesar." He adds, "Khaesar is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work." The correction is acceptable, but faults of the text afford no ground for repeated sneers at the translators.

XVI.—Page 351. I willingly accept the rendering "fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail," or rather "threw back (baz zadand) the skirts of their coats of mail," instead of the words, "throwing off their coats of mail" which appear in Elliot, page 287. That the heroes should throw off their armour when about to creep under and rip up two elephants is, however, not so improbable as Major Raverty deems it. The Waterloo Life-Guardsman is said to have told the Prince Regent that he "would have liked fighting in his shirt sleeves better than in a cuirass."

XVII.—Page 441. In page 291 of Elliot there is a

note as follows "Sang-i Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, porbably near the Hari river." Major Raverty deems this "impossible." He says, "It is the name of a pass near the Halmand river about N.N.W. of Ghaznin on the route from that city and also from Kabul into Ghor." This is a matter of opinion, and may be left to the reader's judgement; but Major Raverty's local

knowledge must be taken into account.

XVIII.—Page 532. In page 302 of Elliot there is the following passage: "He took the city of Multan, and Hindustan, Dewal, etc., and all as far as the sea-coast." Major Raverty has: "He possessed himself of the city of Multan, and Hindustan and Diwal as far as the sea-coast." A note to Sindustan adds, "That is, Siwastan, also called Shiw-astan, by some Hindu writers.... Siwastan is turned into Hindustan in Elliot's India." The printed text has "Hindustan," and again the translator is blamed for being true to his text. I have met with Siwistan in various forms, but I have not seen either "Sindustan" or "Shiw-astan."

XIX.—Page 534. Here a real error is noted. The words in Elliot (Vol. II. 303): "After the victory of Nandua-tari, the Mughal prince," should read, "After the victory of Nandana, Tari (or Toli), the Mughal prince." This fault in the punctuation was over-

looked by the Editor.

XX.—Page 539. The words lashkar-i khilj az jumla lashkar khwarizmiyan This is translated in Elliot (p. 303), "The army of Khiliji consisting of all the forces of Khwarizm." Raverty's rendering is, "a body of (the tribe) of Khalj. a part of the Khwarazmi force." In this the first lashkar is expunged, and the hypothetical "tribe" is substituted. The words of the text are not precise. Literally they read, "The army of Khilji out of the army of the Khwarizmis."

XXI.—Page 541. In page 304 of Elliot there is the following: "The Firozi college of Uch was consigned to

the care of the author. On the provocation of the army of Bahram Shah in 624, Sultan Sa'id Shamsu-d din encamped in sight of Uch." Major Raverty translates, "The Firuzi college of Uchchah was committed to the charge of the author, together with the office of Kazi of the forces of 'Alau-d din Bahram Shah." This is an undoubted improvement, but the words in the printed text (baqutzayi) will not allow of it. As, however, Major Raverty makes a note about the "Kaz-ship," it may be assumed that some of his MSS. have quazayi instead of iqtazayi, and the amendment may be admitted.

XXII.—Page 556. Here there is a note about the difference between "consenting" and "making peace," and another concerning the "leg below the knee" (page 508), in preference to the short word "shins" used in

Elliot. These are unworthy of further notice.

XXIII.—Page 559. The correction about the khutba in page 309 of Elliot had been made, upon the suggestion of Thomas, before Major Raverty's book appeared.—Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 111.

XXIV.—Page 565. Major Raverty here shows that in the last line of page 310 the words "(the author)" should be inserted after "he" to prevent the ambiguity

which has arisen from closely following the text.

XXV.—Page 566. In page 153 of the printed text there is the following curious passage—wa tamamat salah un jumaat az parhayi ni nizah buvad chunancheh jaushan wa bargistawen wa sipar wa khwud hameh qitaa qitaa barisham-i kham barham basta wa dukhteh. Major Raverty says that "the printed text is correct, except that barsam is altered to barsham, but risham, not rasham, is silk." It is unpleasant to give a flat contradiction, but I am forced to say that the print has risham, not rasham. He then gives the translation from Elliot (p. 311) thus italicised; : "The only weapons of the the enemy were bamboo spears; and their armour, shields and helmets consisted only of raw silk strongly

fastened and sewed together.' A 'shield' and 'helmet' of raw silk would be curiosities certainly." (Not greater than the cotton-armour described by the author in p. than the cotton-armour described by the author in p. 352 of Raverty, and 287 of Elliot). Major Raverty's rendering is, "The whole of the defensive arms of that host were of pieces of the spear-bambu, namely, their cuirasses and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping (each other)." This is a paraphrase rather than a translation. Major Raverty is a soldier, still I must assert that silah means offensive not "defensive arms," and is rightly translated "weapons." The other part of the passage is open to doubt. Kita,' kita,' "bits and bits," but of what? Formerly I took it to men bits or hanks of silk, now I believe that the words refer to the bamboo mentioned in the previous sentence, and that the whole should read: "The only weapons, of the enemy were bamboo spears, and so their armour and shields and helmets consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk." Major Raverty quotes a letter written by an offcer in the Dufflah expedition in December, 1874, which says, "Each man fastens on his cane-work helmet, a sort of close fitting skull cap. . . . Round his loins over the hips he wears a number of thin bamboo or cane rings unattached to one another." This seems to make the matter clear.

XXVI.—Page 572. Here Major Raverty gives a local name as Naran-goe (or Naran-koe), and adds this note; "In Elliot, Vol. II. page 314, it is turned into 'Kuni' in one place, and sixteen lines under into 'Narkoti.'" This should have been stated thus: "The translation in Elliot scrupulously follows the text in reading 'Kuni,' and lower down 'Narkoti.'" Against the correctness of Naran-goe it would be presumptuous

to say anything without seeing the MSS., but Major Raverty from his own showing is not very certain.

XXVII.—Page 574. Major Raverty's rendering is more accurate, and has been placed among the Correc-

tions.

XXVIII.—Page 581. In Elliot (p. 317) there is the following passage: "He had with him some travellers" bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule." Major Raverty gives a paraphrase, not a translation, of the passage, and says: "He had along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread, with some (little) dainty, by way of provision for the journey, after the manner of travellers." To the word "dainty" he adds a note: "Meat, fish, vegetables or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour: in Elliot it is styled 'travellers' bread,' and the ass is turned into a mule!" The rendering in Elliot is literal. The words for the food are Nani-i Khurish-i safriyana, literally "bread for travelling food." In the next line it is called sufrah, which the dictionaries explains as "travelling provisions." What ground is there here for animadversion, and why are these few simple words amplified into "a few cakes of bread with some (little) dainty by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers?" The word for Major Raverty's "ass" and Elliot's "mule" is daraz-gosh, "long-ear:" an epithet, not a name. I find that the munshi who made the translation first wrote "ass," and afterwards changed it to mule." He may be credited with a reason for doing so.

XXIX.—Page 583. Upon the last line but one in Page 317 of Elliot, Major Raverty quotes and says, "built a fort for his residence.' The printed text has 'fortress of Baskot.' True, but it would have been candid to say that a note gives ba-sukunat, which means "for the residence." Major Raverty adopts "Baskot" or "Basankot," and his MSS. may justify the reading,

but he does not venture upon any explanation of its

position.2

XXX.._Page 583. In Elliot (p. 318) there are the words "he came with a body of men from his native country". Major Raverty quotes the text; allows that the word ijma' means "collection," and the itba' means "followers," "dependents" and yet expresses his astonishment (!!) at the rendering "body of men." He finds reason apparently in his MSS. for altering the word itba' into intija,' and translating "to better his means." This may be right, but it is not so decidedly perferable as to merit adoption. When Major Raverty says in support of his view that the individual in question "was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by 'a body of men." he forgets that priests and holy men often have many followers and disciples. "A number of followers" is a preferable rendering.

XXXI.—Page 583. I cannot admit Major Raverty's improve rendering of the words dar bargah tazkariri guftah amad by: "He was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience hall," but I am not satisfied with the munshi's rendering in Elliot (p. 318), "His name was mentioned in the Court.' It says rather, "Having recited a commemorative (speech or ode.) he came to Court." or perhaps we may express the author's meaning more clearly by saying. "He came to Court and delivered a

eulogistic speech".

XXXII.—Page 587. Here Major Raverty says there is nothing to warrant the translation of Atraf-i mamalik i Lakhnauti (the words of the printed text) by, "the territories of Lakhnauti." How came he then, in page 354, to translate atraf i bilad Lakhnauti (text, p. 138) by "the different parts of the territories of Lakhnauti."? XXXIII.-Page 600. This, the last criticism upon

2The volume number and the pages in this note all refer to the original edition of Elliot's History.

Elliot (p. 320) which I have to review, is a gem of its kind. "The word bazargan does not mean 'horse-dealer, for it signifies a merchant or trader." True, beyond question. But this particular merchant was at the head of a drove (galah) of horses. If, as it appears, he was one of a party of merchants who sold horses, what was he, if not a horse-dealer?

THE END

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Section 251 Contract to the section of

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 13, line 22. To the word *India*, add a note: Some MSS. read "Wahind" instead of "ba-Hind" and "Waihind" no doubts is correct. See supra page 145 Note III.
 - " 15, line 5. For "Mas'ud ordered him," etc., read "Mas'ud gave orders so that they took him prisoner and plundered his army."
 - " 15, line 8. For "When Mas'ud was killed," read "When Mas'ud was unfortunate, (i.e. when he was defeated)." See supra p. 145-46, Note IV.
 - 15, Paragraph 2, line 9. For "even an elephant could not stand before him," read "his arrow struck in any iron traget." The doubtful words in the text were bel-i ahani, literally "an iron shovel," and the dictonaries afford no further information. So bel was taken as a misprint for pil, and supposed to mean "an iron-like elephant." Major Raverty says that bel signifies "a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows." This gives an intelligible sense to the passage.
 - "19. No. VII. line 3. To the words "and used to listen," add a note: This would perhaps be more correctly rendered by, "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell." See supra page 146, Note VI.
 - " 21. Footnote 28, for "words mean" read "word means."
 - " 23. No. XI. line 11, for "He restored to the princes," read "He confirmed, etc."—Raverty.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 30, line 14. To "Rasiat mountains" add the note: See supra page 148, Note XIV.
 - "30, line 31. For "Faj Hanisar," read "Faj Khaesar," and add a note: "Major Raverty's MSS. give the correct form "Khaesar." The word faj means "a broadway especially between two mountains." See supra page 149, Note XV.
 - " 33, line 22. For "throwing off their coats of mail" read "throwing back the skirts of their coats of mail" (so as to have their legs free). See supra page 149, Note XVI.
 - "38. Footnote No. 45 To the note on Sangi Surkh, add: Major Raverty says "A pass on the Halmand river about N. N. W. of Ghazni on the route from that city, and also from Kabul into Ghor."
 - note: Major Raverty states that his MSS. read "Sindustan" which he considers to be a form the name "Siwistan." See supra page 150, Note XVIII.
 - " 51. line 14. For "Nandua-tari," read "Nandana, Tari." See page 150, Note XIX.
 - " " line 26. To the word Khwarizm add a note: See page 150, Note XX.
 - " 52. line 5. For "consigned to the care of the author. On the provocation of the army," read "consigned to the care of the author, together with the office of Kazi of the army," and put a full stop after Bahram Shah. A new reading of the text requires this alteration. See page 150, Note XXI.

- Page 58. line 16. For "caused his name," etc., read "caused the Khutba and coins to be established in all the territories."—Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 111.
 - " 59. In the last line after the word "he," insert "(the author)."
 - " 60. line 17-18. For "consisted only of raw silk," substitute "consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk." see pp. 151-52.
 - " 63-64. To the names "Kuni" and "Narkoti" add note: Page 152. Note XXVI.
 - "64. line 5. For came dutifully to Deokot," read "came to Deokot and discharged the duties of mourning." See pge 153. Note XXVII.
 - 67. line 30. "A fort of his residence," add note: Major Raverty's MSS. give "the fort of Basankot" instead of the words "ba-sukunat" of the printed text. See page 153. Note XXIX.
 - "his name was mentioned in the court," add note: The author's meaning may perhaps be better rendered by "He came to Court and delivered a culogistic speech (tazkire). See page 154, Note XXXI.
 - " 97. line 8. "Infidels of Changis Khan." Adopt the variant reading in the text, "Infidels of Jajnagar."
 - " 113. line 3. For "Salin-nawin" read "Salin Nuyin (Mughal)."
 - "Mewassee," Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1874, page 240, and vol. III (original edition) p. 138.
 - " 117. For "Tilibhat (Pilibhit)," read "Talpat."